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Full Name of Author — Nom complet de l'auteur
ANTHONY MICHAEL SIMMONS

Date of Birth — Date de naissance
25th MAY 1945

Country of Birth — Lieu de naissance
N. IRELAND

Permanent Address — Résidence fixe
Dept. Sociology, Athabasca University,
15015 - 123 Ave
Edmonton.

Title of Thesis — Titre de la thèse
THE ACADEMIC DISCOURSE OF MIGRATION:
A CONCEPTUAL STUDY in DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

University — Université
UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Degree for which thesis was presented — Grade pour lequel cette thèse fut présentée
Ph. D.

Year this degree conferred — Année d'obtention de ce grade
1984

Name of Supervisor — Nom du directeur de thèse
DR. NICO STEHR

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THE ACADEMIC DISCOURSE
OF MIGRATION

A CONCEPTUAL STUDY IN DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

BY
ANTHONY M. SIMMONS

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A THESIS
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

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PERMANENT ADDRESS:
Department of social sciences
Athabasca University
15015 - 123rd Ave.
Edmonton T5V 1J7

DATED April 2, 1984

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled *The Academic Discourse of Migration: A Conceptual Study In Discourse Analysis* submitted by Anthony M. Simmons in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

....

Supervisor

John O'Neill

Michael W. Gillespie

Harry Garfinkle

....

....

Date March 13th, 1984

Any general statement or thoroughgoing
analysis is liable to be called meta-
anthropological or meta-scientific.
As if we were to bend our bodies and
lower our heads to the task without
ever straightening up again and
raising our gaze to the skyline.

Louis Dumont, (1977:viii).

DEDICATION

To the memory of my mother.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this thesis has been to develop a conceptual study of the literature of migration research using a general method of discourse analysis. This method owes much to the early work of Michel Foucault, although many of the ideas contained herein, have been specifically developed for this thesis.

The present analysis of academic migration discourse departs from more traditional sociological accounts of scientific knowledge both in terms of its form and content. Unlike traditional accounts, which have tended to emphasise the role of institutional factors in the development of scientific knowledge, this study focuses primarily on the conceptual structure of migration discourse, and on the relationship of this structure to the development of migration policy. Where traditional sociological accounts of science have sought to reduce the internal structure of discourses to the external functions of institutions, this study seeks, in an inversion of traditional priorities, to reduce the external function of institutions to the internal structure of their respective fields of discourse.

Starting with a general survey of the literature of migration research, the study traces the conceptual development of migration, as an object of discourse, from the classical discourses of population, to the modern discourse of demography. It is suggested that the field of academic migration discourse has been dependent for its formation upon the fulfillment of certain epistemic conditions, of which the following are, perhaps, the most significant:

1. The rise of a 'scientific' discourse of demography, as part of the institutionalisation and rationalisation of population studies.

2. The clarification of the conceptual boundaries of migration discourse, through systematic definition and classification.
3. The latent function of generative metaphors as orienting perspectives for the organisation of empirical research and theory construction.
4. The systematic construction of theoretical problematics.

The method of discourse analysis is also applied to the area of migration policy, where it is argued that migration policies may be analysed as modes of discourse in terms of their own generative metaphors, problematics, and languages of theory and observation.

From these examples, it is concluded that the method of discourse analysis provides a useful framework within which to analyse the conceptual structure of social science. In this respect, discourse analysis may serve as a necessary supplement to more conventional sociological approaches to the study of science.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I should like to acknowledge my appreciation of Dr. Nico Stehr, Chairman of the Dissertation Committee, for his assistance and patience throughout the preparation of this study. Thanks are also due to Drs. John O'Neill, Michael Gillespie, Paul Saram, Sami Molsen and Harry Garfinkel for their criticisms and comments on the first draft.

I should also like to express my gratitude for the encouragement and support that I have received from my friends and colleagues at Athabasca University, and in particular to Lloydene Moore for her meticulous and painstaking entry of this document into the word processing system, and to Paula Wintink-Smith for her help in designing and laying out the diagrams and figures used in this study.

It is to my wife, Sybil, however, that I owe the greatest debt of gratitude. Without her indefatigable moral support, it is unlikely that this project would ever have been brought to completion.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

1. The Problem

2. Background

2.1. Positivism and Science

2.2. Sociologism and Science

2.3. The Theory of Discourse

2.4. The Model of Discourse

3. Objectives

4. Rationale

1. The Problem

The general intention of this thesis is to examine the literature of migration research as a case study in the conceptual analysis of an academic field of discourse. During the past few decades, social scientific research into the processes of internal and international migration has greatly increased to the point where the study of migration now represents one of the more significant specialised areas of applied social science.

Unlike more conventional reviews of the technical data of migration research, however, this study proposes to examine the conceptual structure of migration research from the perspective of an "archeological" study of knowledge.[1] In this respect, it is primarily conceived as an epistemic study of an applied social science specialty and only secondarily as a study of migration. Whereas conventional studies of migration are normally justified as independent contributions to what is often perceived as an accumulated inventory of scientific 'facts' about population mobility, this study is proposed as a conceptual analysis of the ways in which such scientific 'facts' are generated through the languages of theory and research. Instead of assessing the 'facts' of migration research simply in their own terms, as is normally done in standard reviews of technical migration data, this study proposes to examine the 'facts' of migration research as 'artifacts' of a particular field of academic discourse, which remain dependent for their production upon the logical and extra-logical functions of academic language.

---

[1] The expression, "archeology of knowledge" is borrowed from Michel Foucault (1972). It refers to the particular method of discourse analysis pioneered by Foucault as a critical alternative to the traditional history of ideas. We use it in this study to signal our departure from traditional approaches to the sociology of knowledge, which we have eschewed in favour of a more conceptual approach to the analysis of migration research, as a field of discourse. For more on the archeology of knowledge, c.f. Sheridan, (1980); Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982).

On these grounds, however, any one of a number of substantive research areas could have provided an equally useful occasion for the conceptual analysis of an applied social science speciality. The example of migration has been selected for two principal reasons:

(1) The importance of the topic of migration to national and international government agencies has invested the discourse of migration with significance (shared with other demographic discourses), as a discourse of public policy. This provides a clearer example than is often found in other branches of applied social science, not only of the production, but of the *utilization* of social scientific knowledge.

(2) Unlike many other branches of contemporary social science, migration research has traditionally been seen as relatively free of theoretical or epistemological dissensus. Indeed, migration discourse has appeared to many observers as a largely a-theoretical discourse, made up of a collection of *ad hoc* empirical studies unrelated to particular frameworks of theory or ideology. In the context of the present study, which is designed to explore the interdependence of observation and theory languages in scientific discourse, the hitherto neglected status of theory in migration discourse presents a particularly interesting challenge for a conceptual analysis of the type proposed in this thesis.

As an exercise in the conceptual analysis of an applied social science, therefore, the study of migration discourse provides an opportunity for the examination of both theoretical and practical determinants of a field of discourse, within an integrated model of social scientific knowledge. Thus, one of the important conceptual tasks to be pursued in the present study is that of constructing a model of social scientific knowledge in which both theoretical and institutional aspects of knowledge production are adequately represented. The value of such an integrated (and reflexive) model may be gauged from the generally perceived need for a corrective to prevailing conceptions of scientific knowledge which have tended to segregate "internal" from "external" factors in standard accounts of science. (c.f. Whitley 1972)

In the case of sociology, many earlier conceptual analyses of sociological knowledge have tended to focus on the theoretical rather than on the empirical aspects of the discipline. This is true of such classical studies as *The Sociological Imagination* (Mills, 1959); *The Sociology of Sociology,* (Friedrichs, 1970); *The Coming Crisis in Western Sociology,* (Gouldner, 1970); *Ideology and the Development of Social Theory* (Zeitlin, 1963); and continues in such recent works as *Theoretical Logic in Sociology* (Alexander, 1982). Unlike these generalised critiques of the discipline, however, the present study restricts itself to the conceptual analysis of a particular specialty and in this respect is more closely allied to other specialised critiques such as Taylor's conceptual analysis of deviance theory and research (c.f. Taylor 1973) or Young's conceptual analysis of evolutionary biology (c.f. Young, 1972).

Although many of these earlier conceptual studies provided an important critical context for evaluating some of the classical themes of sociological theory and research, the time has come for such general studies to be supplemented by more specific and detailed accounts of the production and application of social scientific knowledge.

In general terms, therefore, the present study proposes to develop a conceptual analysis of the epistemic structure of contemporary migration research. It is hoped that this choice of topic will succeed in addressing a number of conceptual problems in the sociological study of scientific knowledge which have, so far, eluded any effective resolution. Among these problems we may mention the following:

(1) the problem of providing an example of a *conceptual* rather than an institutional analysis of social scientific knowledge. In view of the traditional bias of sociological studies of science, the development of a conceptual analysis of migration research remains a priority for the present study.

(2) the problem of providing a conceptual analysis of an applied social scientific *specialty* rather than that of a general disciplinary tradition of theory and research, which has tended to be the case in studies of this nature.

(3) the problem of *integrating* both conceptual and institutional factors of knowledge production and utilization into a unified and reflexive conceptual framework.

2. Background

One of the central problems for any conceptual analysis of social scientific knowledge, lies in relating particular sets of facts/theories to the epistemic structures of which they are a part. In the natural sciences, recent studies by Kuhn(1970) and Feyerabend(1975), for example, have emphasised the extent to which normal scientific research is predicated upon the implicit assumptions of established 'paradigms'. Not only theories, but even the 'facts', themselves, are constructed in terms of paradigm assumptions. A transformation of these assumptions, therefore, results in a transformation of the set of facts/theories supported by them.

As yet no single work of equivalent stature to *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* has been written about the social sciences, although numerous attempts have already been made to apply Kuhn's terminology to the historiography of the social sciences. (c.f. Martins, 1972; Blaug, 1976; Bronfenbrenner, 1970; Coates, 1969; Kunin and Weaver, 1971, Barnes, 1982). While Kuhn's pioneering work has provided a general inspiration for many such studies, the conceptual analysis of social science presents special problems which cannot be uncritically reduced to a model of scientific knowledge based wholly upon the natural sciences.

In searching for examples more germane to the conceptual study of migration and population research, many current examples of conceptual analyses of social science appear to be concentrated in the field of economics. Such studies have typically analysed variations in the meanings of basic economic terms, relating them to changes in general theoretical frameworks. Thus the term, 'value', has been at different times identified as: a just price, an actual price, and a competitive equilibrium price, depending upon whether the prevailing paradigm of economics has been scholastic, mercantilist, or classical. (c.f. Meek, 1967: 200; Robinson, 1962; Tribe, 1978).

Every distinctive framework of economic theory, or economic "paradigm", has been supported by a set of central assumptions which are treated rather like axioms within a propositional system. As these assumptions invariably lie outside the range of empirical tests constructed for economic theories, their validity is only brought into question when the total paradigm of which they are a part comes into crisis. Dumont (1977:35) has proposed that the term, 'ideologeme', be used to identify these central unexamined assumptions of economic analysis, and provides the example of the concept of 'automatic mechanism' from mercantilist theory: that the fixed sum of global wealth determines that a gain in trade by one nation is to the loss of another. It was not until the final overthrow of mercantilist political economy that international trade was later represented by the classical school as having mutual benefits for both parties.

Similar examples are provided by W.A. Lewis (1954, 1958), in his comparison of the alternative assumptions regarding the relative elasticity of labour supply contained in classical and neo-classical economics. For a more far-reaching analysis of the limiting assumptions of contemporary economics, the work of Georgescu-Rogen (1971) should also be consulted.

Conceptual analyses of economics, therefore, have provided some examples which may have relevance for similar studies of other social sciences. While some of these studies are explicitly Marxist (c.f. Godelier, 1972; Hunt and Schwartz, 1972), others have presented a more orthodox "sociology of knowledge" approach to the conceptual analysis of economic knowledge (c.f. Eagly, 1968).

Together, these examples provide some indication of how to construct a conceptual analysis of migration research. Perhaps, to a greater extent than other areas of social science, migration discourse shares with economic discourse an emphasis on quantified empirical data, at least in its demographic aspect, as well as a common heritage in population theory through the Classical School of Political Economy.

In much the same way as other conceptual studies of social science, therefore, any conceptual analysis of migration research requires an examination of several elements of the epistemic structure of this field of discourse including not only the "manifest" structure of definitions, classisfactory schema, and theoretical perspectives, but also the "latent" or "deep structure" of unexamined assumptions and generative metaphors. The excavation of elements of the deep structure of scientific knowledge is part of what is referred to throughout this study as the "archeological" study of discourse.

Many of the prevailing concepts presently used in the conceptual analysis of scientific knowledge are recently derived from studies in the history and philosophy of science. In general, most of these concepts, and the theories from which they are taken, represent the critical responses of academic historians and philosophers of science to established positivist accounts of the structure of scientific knowledge.

The development of these critical conceptualisations of science has resulted from controversies over the interpretation of the structure and history of *natural* scientific knowledge. However, in the absence of any independent framework for the conceptual analysis of *social* scientific knowledge claims, these concepts have been increasingly appropriated into conceptual studies of such areas as economics, sociology, psychology and history. We shall briefly review the conceptualisations of scientific knowledge contained in two established accounts of science, broadly defined here as positivism and sociologism. However, for reasons which will be made clear, neither of these accounts appears to offer a sufficiently *reflexive* approach to the study of scientific knowledge and for this reason, a third account—involving a theory of discourse—is endorsed as a more appropriate model for the conceptual analysis of migration research.

2.1. Positivism and Science[2]

In traditional positivist terms, the languages in which scientific knowledge claims are formulated may be distinguished as languages of observation, L_o's and languages of theory, L_t's. (c. f. Hesse, 1970; Spector, 1966) Languages of observation are normally interpreted as sets of propositions which, more or less, faithfully record the empirical phenomena of the subject domain as classes of 'facts'. Languages of theory, on the other hand, are normally interpreted as derivative sets of propositions which are connected to the sentences of the observation language by means of 'correspondence rules' which may partially interpret, but may never fully translate, the propositions of L_t into those of the L_o.

The relationship of observational to theoretical terms is thus characterised by a fundamental asymmetry which underlies the positivist model of science. This model presupposes the availability of a neutral and stable language of observation to which all theoretical statements are ultimately reducible. Irrespective of whether such a language is defined as a set of 'elementary propositions' (c.f. Wittgenstein, 1923), as a 'thing-language' (Carnap, 1936, 1937), or as a set of 'protocol sentences' (Neurath, 1959), the conception of a neutral observation language has traditionally served as a guarantee of the objectivity and testability of all knowledge claims formulated within the positivist model of science.

---

[2] The term "positivism" refers more to a broad epistemological tendency than to a rigorously formulated or internally consistent theory of knowledge. It has thus been used to refer inclusively to classical positivism, empiricism, logical empiricism, and critical rationalism. (c.f. L. Kolakowski, 1968)

Criteria for the testability of knowledge claims formulated in the languages of science have varied with successive interpretations of the stratified model of science. Thus the original criteria of *verification* were later modified to those of *confirmation*, while in more recent times, criteria of *falsification* have rendered obsolete both preceding positivist logics of justification (Popper, 1959).

In classical positivist accounts, therefore, the development of scientific knowledge originates with observations, for it is observations which constitute the 'building blocks' of formal theory construction (Wisdom, 1970). In this sense, the growth of scientific knowledge may be seen as a growing stockpile of 'facts', or unchanging truths, which can only grow by producing more 'facts' to add to the collection. Each truth thus resembles a brick being incorporated into the structure of a rising building (Barnes, 1974).

It is only on the basis of the class of 'facts' that scientific knowledge claims may be progressively generalised from observation statements to theoretical laws. Positivist accounts thus emphasise the degree of consistency and continuity involved in the logic of scientific discovery, whereby axioms precede theories, less general theories precede more general theories, and general theories precede the construction of universal laws (Agassi, 1963).

2.2. Sociologism and Science

Since the publication of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* in 1962, a profound reorientation has taken place in the history, philosophy and sociology of science. The conceptualisation of science provided by Kuhn marks a decisive point of departure from the positivist model, for in place of the privileged status of observation reports, Kuhn has emphasised their dependency on theoretical contexts; and in place of the linear theory of scientific change, he has suggested the possibility of radical discontinuities between different stages in the development of scientific knowledge.

The central concept in Kuhn's critical historiography of science is the concept of 'paradigm'. It has been this concept, more than any other, which has transformed traditional interpretations of the structure and growth of scientific knowledge. The extent to which this concept may also provide a relevant conceptualisation for social scientific knowledge, including migration research, constitutes an important part of the present discussion.

The term, 'paradigm', is broadly used by Kuhn to refer to the set of rules within which scientific research is normally conducted. These rules contain the "law, application, and the instrumentation which together provide models from which spring particular coherent traditions of scientific research" (Kuhn, 1970:72). Paradigms are essentially defined by Kuhn as consensual problem-solving frameworks adopted by scientific communities at particular moments in the history of science. In this sense, the concept of 'paradigm' has remained heavily dependent upon that of 'scientific community', inasmuch as the primary criterion advanced by Kuhn for the paradigmatisation of science has been that of consensus within scientific communities.[3]

---

[3] This has exposed Kuhn's work to the charge of *sociologism*, (c.f., for example, Tribe, 1973).

In more specific terms, however, the concept of 'paradigm' has remained an ambiguous concept in Kuhn's work, for it has simultaneously specified several different aspects of the cognitive consensus of scientific communities (c.f. Masterman, 1970).

Under pressure for a greater clarification of the term, Kuhn has subsequently distinguished between *two* aspects of cognitive consensus, formerly subsumed under the general rubric of 'paradigm'.

> On the one hand it stands for an entire constellation of beliefs, values, techniques, and so on shared by the members of a given community. On the other, it denotes one sort of element in that constellation, the concrete puzzle-solutions which, employed as models or examples, can replace explicit rules as a basis for the solution of the remaining puzzles of normal science. (1970:237)

In recent revisions of his work, Kuhn has further decomposed the concept of 'paradigm' into the more specific categories of cognitive consensus which underlie the formation of scientific communities. In place of the general definition of 'paradigm', which originally included all the shared commitments of the scientific community, Kuhn has now introduced the expression 'disciplinary matrix'. Similarly, the more specialised definition of 'paradigm', which referred to the concrete puzzle-solutions of a scientific tradition, has now been reanalysed into such constituent elements as 'symbolic generalisation', 'model', and 'exemplar'[4]

Although these local refinements to the concept of 'paradigm' have corrected much of the semantic confusion surrounding the use of the term, they have not substantially altered the structure of Kuhn's historiography of science.

The application of Kuhn's historiographic analysis to the specialities of social science has presented special problems of interpretation. For the most part, the concept of an homogeneous 'scientific community', upon which such concepts as 'disciplinary matrix' or 'paradigm' are dependent, has had little relevance to the social sciences. In such disciplines as economics, psychology, or sociology, for example, the presence of a number of coexisting and mutually exclusive cognitive frameworks has necessitated some recognition of the significance of multi-paradigm disciplines (c.f., Lammers, 1974).

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[4] c.f. "Second Thoughts on Paradigms" in Kuhn, (1977).

More literal applications of Kuhnian historiographic concepts to these disciplines, however, have sought to identify and analyse the dominant 'paradigms' of social science. Thus in the case of economics, for example such categories as Schumpeter's *'classical situation'*, or *'Keynesian Revolution'* have been taken as example of paradigms (c.f. Gordon 1965), while in sociology, the paradigm of the post-war period has been identified by at least one critic as that of 'structural-functionalism' (c.f. Friedrichs, 1970).

In most cases of its application to social science, the concept of 'paradigm' has served as a framework for the critical reconstruction of the historiographies of these specialities. Traditional inductivist interpretations of the growth of knowledge in the social sciences, which have emphasised the linear accumulation of 'facts', and the progressive formalisation of concepts, have been increasingly displaced by radical conventionalist interpretations of scientific knowledge. These interpretations have raised the problem of the relativity of scientific knowledges by reference to those cases in which radical meaning variance has followed upon the use of lexically identical terms in semantically different contexts.

Although the term 'paradigm' was introduced by Kuhn as a critical concept within a programme for a radical conventionalist historiography of science, the concept has failed to provide an adequate framework for the conceptual analysis of the structure of scientific *knowledge*. This failure is attributable to the fact that the concept of 'paradigm', as used by Kuhn, has been provided with a *sociological* rather than with an epistemological content[5]. The concept of 'paradigm' has thus been defined in terms of the sociological category of 'scientific community' in ways which exhibit considerable logical circularity[6], consequently, in Kuhn's work, the conceptual analysis of the structures of scientific knowledge has been reduced to the conceptual analysis of the structures of scientific communities. The concept of 'paradigm' has thus failed to function as an epistemological category in the analysis and criticism of scientific knowledge claims, notwithstanding its later decomposition into such related concepts as 'disciplinary matrix', 'exemplar', and so forth.

In this respect, Kuhn's account of scientific knowledge rests upon a fundamental *sociologism* which is shared by a number of other "sociological" interpretations including, not only the traditions of the Sociology of Knowledge and Critical Theory, but also that of orthodox Historical Materialism, from which each of the former is derived.

The problem with each of these sociologistic accounts of science is that they have traditionally sought to relate the epistemological structure of different classes of knowledge to the particular existential conditions of the genesis and development of such knowledge. Such accounts of knowledge have remained exposed to various charges of irrationalism. In particular, the Mannheimian programme for the correlation of epistemological structures with existential conditions has drawn repeated charges of epistemological/historical relativism (c.f. Child, 1947).

---

[5] c.f. Tribe, (1978), for a fuller elaboration of the consequences of this argument.

[6] This much is conceded by Kuhn, himself, in "Second Thoughts on Paradigms", (1977:294-5, footnote number 4).

There remains another type of objection to sociologistic accounts of scientific knowledge, however, which bears more directly on the present study. This is the criticism, that in any account of knowledge in which 'internal structures' of thought are correlated and/or explained in terms of 'external structures' of human existence, such an account remains based on an uncritical and, therefore, privileged theory of external structures.

All forms of conceptual analysis therefore which propose to investigate the internal structure of knowledge claims in terms of the relationship of such claims to some externally derived criteria of 'reality' or 'interest', remain flawed by a fatal dualism. This is the assumption that the *theories* contained in abstract classes of knowledge may, in some meaningful sense, be correlated with (or even derived from) a concrete domain of historical *facts*. The problem with formulating any such relationship between knowledge (as theory) and existence (as fact) is that all possible accounts of existence remain, themselves, theory-laden (c.f. Feyerabend, 1975).

In the absence of any critical reflexion on the theoretical assumptions underlying the identification of 'existential conditions' therefore, such uncritical categories retain an unanalysed and privileged theoretical status.

Nowhere has this tendency been more apparent than in attempts by historians to relate changes in economic thought to changes in the history of economic development. Such accounts, which have been typical of sociologistic analyses continue to mystify the relations of fact and theory, and obscure the extent to which interpretations of the history of economic development are dependent upon prevailing modes of economic thought.

> In this way, the economy is presented as prior to or independent of its discursive characterisations and the latter conceived of as an inadequate reflection of it. But how can this economy be presented as independent of discursive characterisation and thus given a privileged status as a measure of the discourse(s) that succeed or fail to reflect it? Only on condition that some dubious metaphysical distinction is invoked between the 'real world' and the 'world of ideas'. However, a sleight of hand intervenes whenever this form of distinction is invoked, for it is not in fact 'the economy' which governs the periodisation of economic thought but a particular description of it, a particular discursive form. The pretended privilege of the real world over the world of ideas is nothing more than the privilege of one discursive order over another in which unconditioned descriptive statements condition theoretical ones; since the confrontation takes place within discourse, it cannot be anything else.
>
> Tribe, 1978:8-9

In most sociologistic accounts therefore, the typical method of analysis has entailed the juxtaposition of 'abstract' categories of consciousness and 'concrete' categories of existence.

In the terminology of critical theory (appropriated from the early philosophical texts of Marx), the categorical relations of consciousness and existence are reconceptualised in terms of "theory" and "practice" (or "knowledge" and "interest"). Both of these concepts have been elaborated from the classical marxian analysis of social formations in which the concepts of 'base' and 'superstructure' were originally used to define the categorical relations of existence and consciousness (c.f., for example, Jakubowski, 1976).

However, the dualism implicit in these concepts has continued to create problems for more reflective marxian theoreticians, and resolutions of this dualism have been (unsuccessfully) sought in a special theory of mediations.

As prospective frameworks for the conceptual analysis of migration research, therefore, both positivistic and sociologistic accounts present some fundamental problems. Perhaps the major problem remains the failure of either tradition to provide a reflexive analysis of the conditions under which different forms of scientific consciousness emerge.

2.3. The Theory of Discourse

In a number of ways, the structuralist theory of 'discourse' appears to offer a more satisfactory framework for the conceptual analysis of migration research than either of the preceding traditions of positivism or sociologism. Unlike the concept of 'paradigm', which has traditionally been used to analyse the structures of scientific *communities*, the concept of 'discourse' is more directly related to the analysis of the structures of scientific *knowledge*. It is, therefore, primarily an epistemological concept which, in conjunction with other concepts generated within the theory of discourses, presents a framework for the conceptual analysis of the epistemic conditions underlying the production of scientific knowledge.

At the same time, the concept of 'discourse' also functions at an essentially reflexive level of analysis. In this respect, all accounts of scientific discourse are, themselves, analysable in terms of a general theory of discourse. Within any account of scientific discourse, therefore, there are no concepts which may stand outside a particular form of discourse, as either primitive or uninterpreted concepts. It is in this sense, that the analysis of discourse remains irreducible to the analysis of extra-discursive categories, whether these are defined as 'scientific communities', 'human interests', existential conditions', or whatever. Such expressions do not stand in direct correspondence to referents in the 'real world';

they stand only in relation to other concepts from which they derive their meanings.

The theory of discourse functions in this respect as a *metatheory* for the analysis of scientific knowledge, and thus provides a more satisfactory framework for the analysis of migration research than do either of the preceding theories.

The concept of 'discourse' used in the present study may be traced to a number of recent documentary sources. In the contemporary philosophy of science, for example, the concept of 'discourse' was first applied to the theory and history of science by Gaston Bachelard, and his students.[7]

The term 'discourse' was used by Bachelard to conceptualise historical discontinuities in the periodisation of science, as well as structural discontinuities in the demarcation of science from non-science. In this sense, the (Bachelardian) formation of the concept of 'discourse' may be regarded as a precursor of the later concept of 'paradigm'.

In the broader areas of general epistemology (of the social sciences, arts and humanities), the Bachelardian concept of 'discourse' has found an application in the conceptual analysis of several topics in the history of ideas, including such theoretical problems as Marxism, psychopathology, advertising and art (c.f. Althusser, 1970, Foucault, 1965, Barthes, 1973, Kristeva, 1982) Each of these studies has provided an analysis of a particular mode of thought in terms of the structures of its internal and external discursive relations, the periodisation of its structures through history, the articulation of its structures with other modes of thought, the specification of its different structural levels of discourse, and the demarcation of 'scientific' from 'non-scientific' structures of discourse. It is the analysis of these structural components of scientific knowledge which is presently designated, the study of discursive formations.

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[7] English translations of Bachelard's works are, at present, limited to *The Philosophy of No (1968), The Psychoanalysis of Fire, (1972), Poetics of Reverie (1971), Poetics of Space (1969).*

The theory of discourse offered in the works of Gaston Bachelard provides a useful framework for the conceptual analysis of scientific knowledge.[8] For Bachelard, the concept of 'theoretical discourse' represents a unified set of theories which together combine to structure a distinctive domain of scientific knowledge. The term 'theory' in Bachelard's sense simply refers to any formulation which is, or may be, articulated in the form of a statement (or set of statements) which purport to offer, or which may be taken as offering, an explanation of something.

Discourses may be classified as 'scientific' or 'non-scientific' in terms of their differential objects of study (their 'theoretical objects'). Scientific discourses are thus distinguished by the fact that their theoretical objects are always 'constructed' (or cognised) within the structure of discourse, whereas in non-scientific (or common sense) discourses, these objects are merely 'given' in the natural field of sense perception. The theoretical objects of a particular scientific discourse, therefore, are dependent for their production upon the prevailing conceptual field and mode of instrumentation characteristic of that discourse.

The distinction between 'scientific' and 'common sense' forms of discourse represents a central theme in Bachelard's theory of science. This distinction is conceptualised by Bachelard as that of an 'epistemological rupture', or radical discontinuity, in the production of scientific and non-scientific classes of knowledge. Unlike Kuhn's demarcation criteria of science and non-science, however, which are conceived in the essentially sociological terms of the division or unity of academic communities, those of Bachelard remain unequivocally epistemological in content.

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[8] The following account of Bachelard's work is based upon the few available English sources including Tribe, (1973,1978); Brewster, (1971); Bhaskar, (1975); Gaukroger, (1976); and Lecourt, (1975).

The epistemological ruptures which distinguish the growth of science from common sense, as well as the progress of science from one stage to another, are located by Bachelard within the 'problematics' or theoretical contexts, of scientific discourses. It is these problematics which structure the conceptual fields of particular discourses and thereby determine the conditions under which scientific knowledge may be produced.

Locating the sources of epistemological rupture within successive scientific problematics is achieved, in Bachelard's theory, through a 'recurrent' reading of the history of science. Such a reading is designed to discriminate between 'outmoded history' (*histoire perimé*—the history of those theories which have been discarded—and 'sanctioned history' (*histoire sanctioné* - the history of theories which continue to be developed. In Bachelard's view, the transformation of discourse from common sense to science, or from outmoded to sanctioned science, has traditionally had to overcome a series of 'epistemological obstacles' which have represented the legacy of concepts inherited from an earlier form of discourse. Two of the great permanent epistemological obstacles mentioned by Bachelard are 'the attraction of the singular' and the 'attraction of the universal'.

Bachelard's theory of science thus constitutes, in a way which Kuhn's theory does not, a genuine theory of scientific knowledge. Using an epistemological framework of analysis, Bachelard has generated a theory to account for the structural discontinuity between science and common sense, and the historical discontinuity between different stages in the growth of scientific knowledge. Compared to Kuhn's theory of scientific change, Bachelard's theory retains two important advantages:

1. it provides a frame of reference for theorising the relationship of science to common sense.
2. it retains a conception of scientific rationality within the framework of discontinuous scientific change.

At the same time, however, Bachelard's theory of science contains a number of fundamental weaknesses which limit its scope as a general framework of analysis. Perhaps the most significant of these problems, at least for present purposes, is the basis of the distinction drawn by Bachelard between common sense and science.

In distinguishing these two types of knowledge, Bachelard emphasises the significance of their respective theoretical objects. Scientific objects are constructed within the contexts of specific problematics, whereas common sense objects are given within the natural field of sense data outside of discursive formations. It is this distinction, however, which is the source of a significant problem. For although common sense objects may originate from outside a scientific problematic, they represent 'constructed' objects in no less a sense than do the theoretical objects of science. Bachelard's relegation of common sense knowledge to a pre-critical 'reflective' theory of sense data overlooks the considerable extent to which the objects of common sense are equally constituted in terms of their conceptual fields. (c.f. for example, Berger and Luckmann, 1966, and Holzner, 1968) The further question of how these modes of construction may be qualitatively differentiated from each other, if indeed they can be, remains unposed in Bachelard's analysis.

For present purposes, therefore, a revised concept of 'discourse', which takes into account the 'constructed' character of all classes of knowledge, appears to present the most useful framework for the conceptual analysis of migration research. Some indication of the potential scope of a revised concept of 'discourse' for analysing the conceptual structures of science is provided by Gaukroger (1976:195):

> It seems to me both possible and necessary that theories be developed which will enable one to conceptualise the effect of particular 'ideologies' in particular kinds of discourse, that will enable one to conceptualise the way in which different and seemingly incompatible theories can interact in one discipline. . . The crucial area for examination would seem to be the level(s) at which particular effects figure - in the formation of concepts, in the mode of proof or explanation, in the mode of conceptualisation of evidence, and so on.

The general perspective of this study of migration research, therefore, is based upon a revised concept of 'discourse'. This perspective focuses on some of the main conceptual elements contained in the logical and extra-logical structure of contemporary migration discourse. These include, for example, the relationship of theory to observation terms in current research traditions; the forms of definition and classification which presently delimit the field; and the metaphorical and analogical terms used in the construction of theories and observation reports.

Such a specification does not imply that migration discourse can be adequately analysed in a sociological vacuum, with reference neither to other forms of discourse, nor to the concrete social and historical totalities of which the migrational process is but a fractional part. What it does imply, however, is that even the formulation of 'factual' statements, which may appear independent of discursive functions, presupposes a particular form of discourse. Descriptive statements relating the evolution of migration discourse to the historical conditions of migration, for example, invariably overlook the fact that the history of migration has, itself, been theoretically reconstructed in terms of a prevailing form of discourse, and constitutes, in this sense, a recurrent reading of history.

The theory of 'discourse' thus marks a decisive point of departure from the epistemologies of positivism and sociologism. For in both of these frameworks the typical method of analysis has remained the juxtaposition of 'abstract' categories of theoretical consciousness and 'concrete' categories of social existence.

The critical analysis of discursive formations is intended to transcend the dualism of the preceding frameworks, and in place of such couplings as that of 'paradigm:scientific community'; 'scientific knowledge:human interest', the concept of a "discursive formation" provides a unitary and a reflexive framework for the conceptual analysis of knowledge claims.

For many writers within the general tradition of discourse analysis, the problem of *method* has remained a major focus of debate. The construction of methodical "readings" of particular fields of discourse has preoccupied a generation of writers over the past several decades, and different approaches to the method of discourse analysis appear to underlie such divergent traditions as semiology (Barthes, 1973); neo-structuralism (Althusser, 1970) and post-structuralism (Derrida, 1976; Kristeva, 1982). For a more detailed discussion of these different approaches, the works of Sumner (1979), Leitch (1983) and Culler (1983) should be consulted.

The present study of migration discourse owes more to the archeological method of discourse analysis pioneered by Michel Foucault (1972) than to other current approaches. At the same time, however, Foucault's approach is employed in suggestive, rather than a dogmatic fashion and is supplemented by other perspectives at a number of points throughout the study.

The study of discourse represented in the works of Foucault, and his students, has remained dependent upon a number of basic analytical categories derived from the classical (Bachelardian) theory of discourses.

For Foucault (1972:26-7), a form of discourse is conceptualised as:

> A vast field, but one that can be defined, nonetheless: this field is made up of the totality of effective statements (whether spoken or written), in their dispersion as events and in the occurance that is proper to them.

Within this field the study of discourse entails an analysis of the relations of the different constituative elements of the structure of discourse: the relations between statements, or sets of statements.

> Whenever one can describe, between a number of statements, such a system of dispersion, whenever, between objects, types of statements, concepts, or thematic choices, one can define a regularity (an order, correlations, positions and functionings, transformation), we will say, for the sake of convenience, that we are dealing with a discursive formation. . .
>
> Foucault, (1972:38)

The field of discourse may thus be represented as a conceptual universe populated by different categories of statement.* Some statements function as methodological rules, others as descriptive or observational terms, others as theoretical expressions, and yet others as metaphysical assumptions or stipulative norms. Categories of statement are structurally related to each other in terms of their theoretical and empirical functions within a field of discourse. The analysis of these elements constitutes a systematic study of the constructive, evaluative and transformative practices typically embedded in all claims to knowledge.

The study of discourse represented in the works of the above writers is most fully exemplified in the analysis of the *text*. In this context, Foucault has developed an elaborate vocabulary of terms and concepts derived from the conceptual analysis of textual discourse. Although this nonmenclature is related to the analysis of particular discursive objects, it provides at the same time, certain general criteria of conceptual analysis which may also find an application to the case of migration research. The following account, therefore, is partly based upon the categories of discourse analysis provided in Foucault's work, although supplemented in part by elements drawn from other sources.

1. The analysis of discursive formations may be broken down into several component parts. These particular elements are designated by Foucault (1972), *the rules of formation,* and it is these rules which govern not only the conditions of existence, "but also of the co-existence, maintenance, modification and disappearance in a given discursive division". These rules of formation may be classified according to three sets of criteria which define the construction and specification of discursive objects.

1.2. A system of 'primary relations' may be defined with reference to those relations which are relatively independent of, or exterior to discourse, such as the empirical relations between "institutions, techniques and social forms". In the present case, the primary relations of discourse would include the empirical content of the migration process, whether analysed diachronically through historical studies, or synchronically through current data collection methods. The primary analysis of migration discourse, therefore, includes such substantive topics as 'the brain drain', 'urban migration', 'return migration', or 'internal migration. It is the empirical content of migration discourse which constitutes the object of primary analysis.

1.2. A system of 'secondary' or 'reflexive' relations may also be defined with reference of those relations which are internal to a form of discourse, including the relations between concepts and words, or the 'deductive and rhetorical structure between propositions and sentences". In the present case, these reflexive relations represent the conceptual content of migration discourse which include, modes of theory construction, conceptualisation of evidence, forms of proof, and general rules of concept formation.

1.2.1. The reflexive analysis of discourse may be directed towards the 'forms of succession' present within a conceptual field. These include the various 'types of dependence' regulating the use of statements in such combinations as 'hypothesis:verification'; 'assertion:critique'; 'general:particular application', and so forth.

1.2.2. Reflexive analysis may also be directed towards the 'forms of co-existence' present within a conceptual field, Foucault distinguishes three forms of co-existence which he identifies in the following terms:

(1) 'the field of presence' refers to all statements accepted as necessary or truthful formulations presently incorporated into the discourse. Such statements may be certified by experimental verification, logical validation, or

through custom or authority.

(2) 'the field of concomitance' refers to those statements formulated elsewhere and incorporated into a form of discourse as analogies, models, general principles, or exemplars.

(3) 'the field of memory' refers to statements no longer accepted or discussed, and which consequently no longer define either a body of truth or a domain of validity, "but in relation to which relations of afiliation, genesis, transformation, continuity and historical discontinuity can be established" (Foucault, 1972:58).

1.2.3. It is also possible to analyse the 'procedures of intervention' which have been applied to the primary relations of discourse. These include techniques of re-writing, methods of transcribing statements from natural into technical languages, modes of translating quantitative into qualitative statements, and so forth.

1.3. Finally, a system of 'discursive relations' may be defined with reference to those relations which are neither primary nor reflexive; which neither define "the dumb existence of a reality, nor the canonical use of a vocabulary" (Foucault, 1972:38)

Discursive relations are thus located at the limits of discourse, they determine the group of relations necessary for the constitution of the objects of discourse. "These relations characterise not the language used by discourse, not the circumstances in which it is deployed, but discourse itself as a practice" (Foucault, 1972:38).

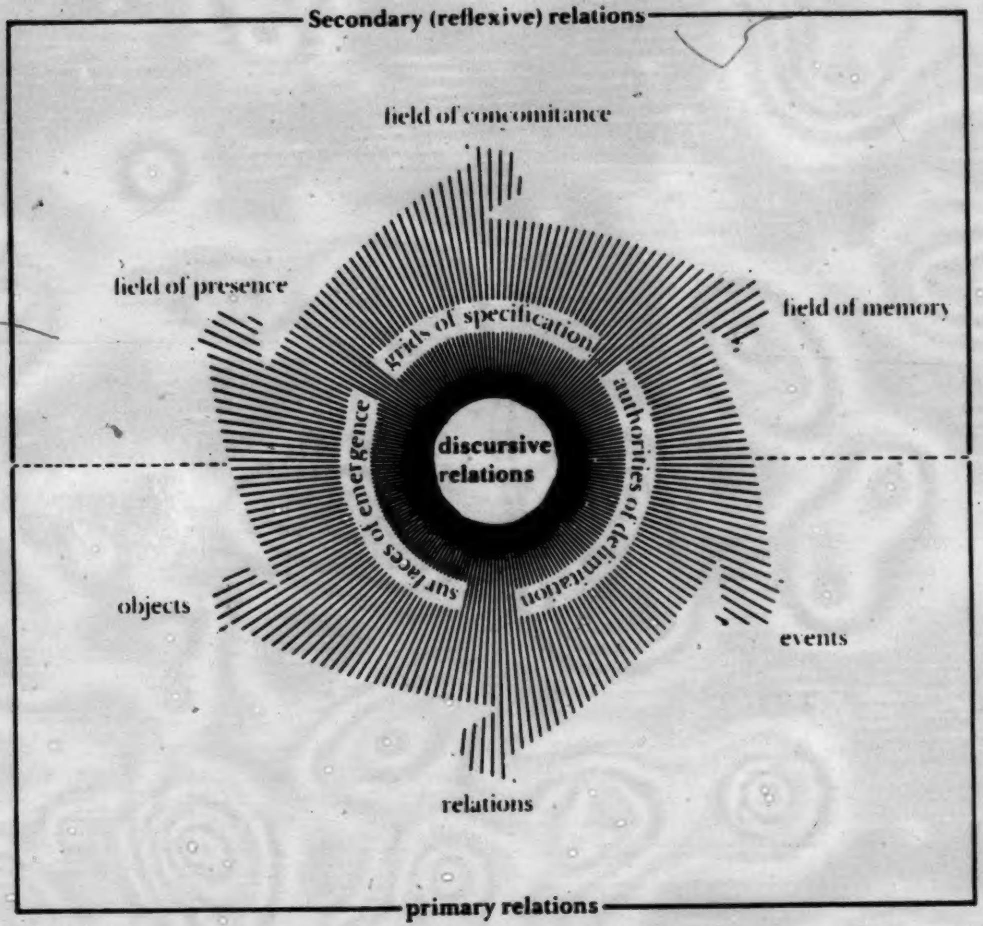
1.3.1. The metalevel analysis of discourse may be directed towards 'the surfaces of emergence' of discursive objects. Dependent upon the history or culture of discourse, these surfaces may be constituted by a variety of institutional relations which together may be seen in the context of a general set of objectifying practices.

1.3.2. Discursive analysis may also be directed towards the authorities of delimitation' responsible for the formulation and analysis of discursive objects. In the case of nineteenth century migration, for example, the relevant authorities responsible for the formulation of 'immigration' as an object of discourse included medical, judicial, governmental, commercial authorities, and so forth.

1.3.3. Lastly, it is possible to analyse 'the grids of specification', according to which, variations in the discursive object (different types of migration, for example), are "divided, contrasted, related, regrouped, classified and derived from one another as objects of . . .discourse".

The totality of these conceptual relations is represented in the following figure.

Figure 1: The Generalised Element of a Discursive Formation


Secondary (reflexive) relations
field of concomitance
field of presence
field of memory
grids of specification
authorities of delimitation
surfaces of emergence
discursive relations
objects
events
relations
primary relations

The formation rules governing the construction of theoretical objects in discursive formations, therefore, may be characterised as a set of practices which together underlie the possible conditions of discourse. These formation rules, however, do not represent the generative structures for *every* possible domain of discourse. Their applicability to other domains may only be judged on the basis of such systematic comparisons as those undertaken by Foucault into discursive domains as General Grammar, Natural History, Madness and so forth. The analysis of the generative structures of these conceptual fields thus represents an heuristic framework for the comparative study of discursive formations, rather than a normative framework for the formulation of the necessary laws of discourse formation.

2.4. The Model of Discourse

For the purposes of the present study, we have adopted a more general framework of discourse analysis than that provided in Foucault's work. This framework is intended to emphasise the interdependencies which link a particular field of discourse to its corresponding discursive practices. For Foucault, a discourse and its discursive practices are defined by relations of reciprocal causality which, in their totality, constitute the discursive formation.

In the present study, these relationships have been reduced to a simplified model of the discursive formation. This model is designed to show how discourse is linked to its corresponding discursive practices, and the media through which these linkages are established. The basic elements of this model may be discerned from the following general explication.

1.0 *Discourse.* Following Foucault, a system of discourse may be understood as a conceptual universe populated by different classes of statement. These statements may be analysed in their logical and extra-logical relations to each other; in their conceptual genealogies; and in their articulation with statements from other systems of discourse. In common with most scientific fields of discourse, one of the more important distinctions to be made between different classes of statement is that between *empirical* and *theoretical* statements.

Systems of discourse may also be classified by *mode* and by *field*. Different "modes" of discourse (as in Science, Religion, Art, etc.,) are definable in terms of their particular sets of epistemic rules, while different "fields" of discourse (as in Biochemistry, Sociology; Islam, Christianity; Expressionism, Cubism;) are definable, within each "mode", by their particular subject areas.

1.1 *Empirical Statements.* In positivist accounts of science, empirical statements are normally understood to be statments about events, relations, or objects of the "real world". According to this interpretation, empirical statements function as observation reports which assimilate the phenomena of the world into the descriptive terms of a particular discourse, as "facts" or "data". Empirical statements are thus interpreted as *literal* statements which designate directly observable referents.

Although such an interpretation of empirical statements runs counter to the assumptions of the present study, it may nonetheless be conceded that some general classication of statements within a discourse is necessary. While empirical statements may not have any privileged epistemological access to an independent reality, the pragmatic grounds for their justification are normally more "quickly decidable" (Carnap, 1936; Feyerabend, 1962) than in the case of theoretical statements; and for this reason, empirical statements are invariably more "entrenched" (Hesse, 1970) within a field of discourse than are other classes of statement. For present purposes, therefore, the traditional distinction between observation and theory statements is recast as a pragmatic distinction, rather than as a distinction in principle, in an effort to emphasise the interdependence of these two classes of statement.

1.2 *Theoretical statements.* Theoretical statements have traditionally been distinguished from empirical statements as statements which do not designate directly observable referents. In most scientific fields of discourse, theoretical statements may only be translated into empirical statements through appropriate "correspondence rules" which are designed to "verify", "confirm", or "falsify", the empirical status of theoretical propositions.

Following Bachelard (1968, 1972), however, we have chosen to conceive of theoretical discourse as that which (to a greater of lesser extent) ***systematically constructs*** the objects of its domain. A continuum may thus be proposed, extending from the terms of highly formalised theories, which systematically construct their objects of discourse in the context of well defined mathematical and logical rules, to the terms of observation reports which, (contrary to positivist accounts), frequently construct their objects of discourse unsystematically from a variety of theoretical, ideological and metaphorical contexts. Such a conception of theory obviates the traditional distinction between theoretical and empirical discourse, and serves again to emphasis the interdependence of all classes of statement within a discursive field.

2.0 *Lanaguage.* For the purposes of the present study, it is assumed that different classes of statement within a field of discourse are based upon different *uses* of language, rather than upon different referential objects. Two broadly separated language functions have been indentified in this model of discourse.

2.1 *Referential language.* Empirical statements imply a referential use of language. Terms and expressions which are intended to designate directly observable phenomena may be said to perform a referential function in the system of discourse. This does not mean that such terms actually stand in a one-to-one correspondence with their designata (as the classical positivists claimed), only that they are "specified" to perform this function. However, as we shall later show, many observation terms which have traditionally been defined as having a purely descriptive function in a system of discourse turn out, upon further examination, to have an important constructive function. Thus, what are often taken to be purely literal uses of language may often include analogical and theoretical uses.

2.2 *Contextual language.* Theoretical statements, in the sense defined here, imply a contextual use of language. Terms and expressions whose meanings are intended to be defined in relation to other terms within a theoretical framework may be said to perform a contextual function in the system of discourse. Again, this is not to deny that observation terms are not also used contextually, only that in any particular field of observation there are always certain terms which are specified as having a contextual function. In other words, while the term "refugee" may be used referentially as an observation term for the purposes of data-collection, it is also conceptually linked to other terms such as "client", "victim", and "international aid recipient", which together provide a context within which the term is meaningfully employed.

3.0 *Observation.* In the present model, it is the relations between language and observation which partially define the more general relations between a field of discourse and its corresponding discursive practices. Language and observation are defined by relations of mutal interdependence. Thus while the categories of a language may combine to structure a field of observation in significant ways, it is also the case that the "social relations of observation" (Sumner, 1979) resulting from a particular discursive practice may combine to influence the categories of language, through institutionalizing or through challenging these categories.

3.1 *Spontaneous observation.* "Spontaneous observation" refers to the unreflexive perception of appearances which normally passes for "common-sense" observation. Such observation is integrally related to the referential use of language. Unlike positivist accounts, however, which have attributed to "naive observation" an unmediated access to the phenomena of the "real world", our conception of spontaneous observation emphasises its dependence upon social and cultural practices. Thus spontaneous observation is determined in part by the "social relations of observation" derived from particular social practices, and by the ideologies and other forms of theoretical consciousness which are associated with these practices, and which combine to mediate the field of observation.

While spontaneous observation may appear as "natural" to the knowing subject, it is, nonetheless, a product of history and culture.

3.2 *Professional observation.* In contrast to spontaneous observation, professional observation employs specialised classifactory schema, instrumentation, nomenclatures and other strategies to systematically reconstruct the categories of spontaneous observation. The diagnostic examination of the physician is, perhaps, one example of the way in which the social relations of observation—physician/patient—give rise to a specialised set of observational terms and categories. Professional observation is, therefore, integrally related to the contextual use of language.

4.0 *Discursive practices.* For the purposes of this model, "discursive practice" represents those social practices which have corresponded to the rise of discursive fields (within a particular "reading" of these discursive relations). Such practices, however, are to be understood, at one and the same time, as both "causes" and "effects" of the discourse. While such social practices as the *confinement* of the insane, for example, provided the conditions which led to the rise of the discourse of psychiatry, the practice of confinement was, itself, transformed by this field of discourse. In terms of the present model, therefore, discourse and its discursive practices are defined by their relations of interdependence and reciprocal causality; together they form a dialectical unity. Two basic forms of discursive practice may be identified:

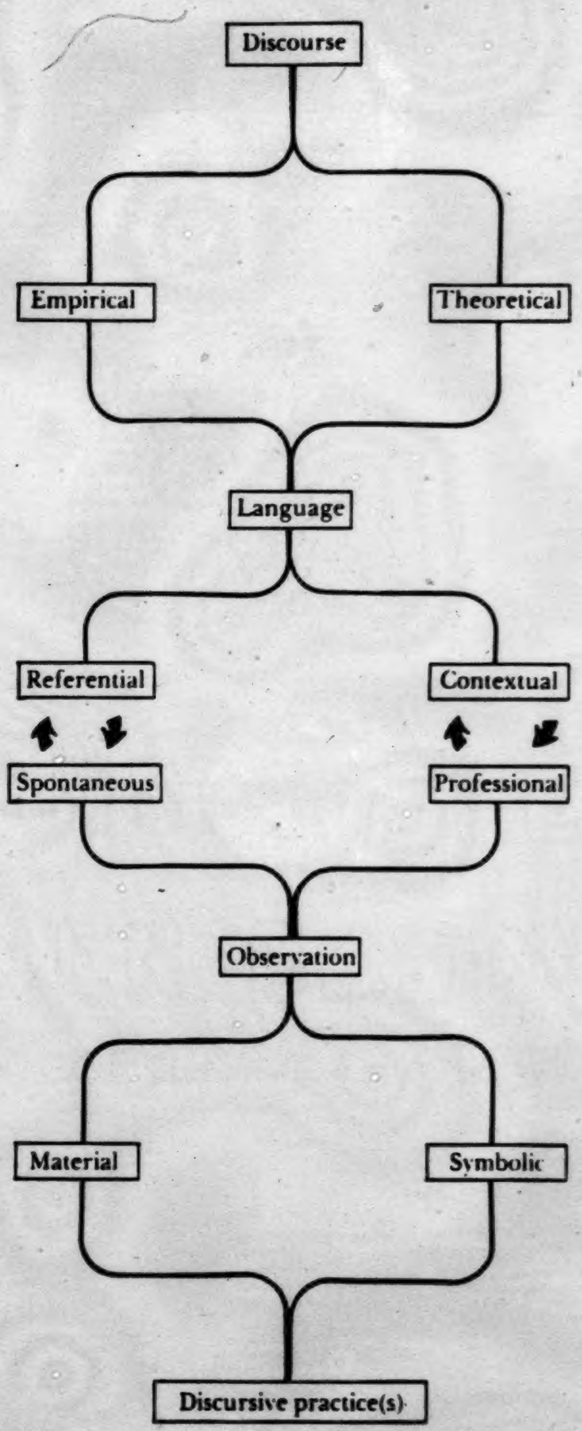
4.1 *Material Practices.* In the present study, material practices are defined as those practices which are oriented to the achievement of specific material goals.

Thus, one of the material practices associated with the discourse of migration is the legislation of immigration policy. Such legislation is "material" in the sense that it regulates physical access into particular Nation States. Material practices are integrally related to spontaneous observation and to the referential use of language.

4.2 *Symbolic practices.* Symbolic practices are oriented towards the achievement of non-material goals, and are usually associated with various forms of professional observation, and with the contextual use of language. In the present case, the symbolic practices associated with migration discourse necessarily include the practice of research, which is oriented towards the production of social science knowledge.

The model of the discursive formation summarised in this section is intended as a schematic representation of the set of interdependent conceptual elements which combine to structure the field of migration discourse, and which also define the conditions of its formation and institutionalisation. This model serves as a conceptual framework for the following study, and as a rationale for the intellectual organisation of the project.

Figure 2: The Conceptual Elements of a Discursive Formation


Discourse
Empirical
Theoretical
Language
Referential
Contextual
Spontaneous
Professional
Observation
Material
Symbolic
Discursive practice(s)

3. Objectives

The general problem of this thesis has already been defined as that of developing a conceptual analysis of the epistemic structure of migration research, using a theory of discourse. By way of further clarification, however, this problem may be broken down into the following objectives, each of which will be pursued at different points throughout the thesis.

1. To analyse the genealogy of academic migration discourse and its relationship to the rise of demographic discourse.
2. To analyse the logical structure of academic migration discourse as represented in the literature of defintion and classification.
3. To analyse the metaphorical structure of academic migration discourse, and its relationship to the construction of theory.
4. To analyse the conceptual implications of academic migration discourse for the discourse of immigration policy.

4. Rationale

The method of analysis to be employed in this thesis will be that of discourse analysis, understood in this context to be an analysis of the conceptual rather than of the semiotic content of academic migration discourse. This analysis will proceed from an investigation of the general to the more specific elements of the field of dicourse in the following terms:

1. Analysis of the general profile of migration research; description of the conceptual organisation and general epistemic structure of the field.

2. Analysis of the genealogy of migration research, from its origins in classical population discourse to the rise of modern demographic discourse.

3. Analysis of the logical parameters of academic migration discourse through a review of definitions and typologies of the field.

4. Analysis of the theories and conceptual frameworks of academic migration discourse, and the relationship of these manifest frameworks to the "latent frameworks" or "deep structures" of generative metaphors.

5. Analysis of the conceptualisation of "problems" in migration policy discourses, and the relationship of these conceptualisations to social and political action.

CHAPTER 2. THE GENERAL STATE OF MIGRATION RESEARCH.

1. Situating Migration Discourse.

2. General Structure of Academic Migration Discourse.

2.1. Absence of Systematic Theory and Research.

2.2. Compartmentalisation of Research.

2.3. Dissolution of Social Relations.

1. Situating Migration Discourse.

Migration research is analysed in the present study as a form of academic *discourse*. As noted in the previous chapter this characterisation has been chosen in preference to other comparable concepts such as 'paradigm', partly for its greater epistemological relevance, and partly for its greater methodological reflexity. However, while these justifications may serve to immediately distinguish the concept of 'discourse' from other classifications of scientific knowledge, they provide no further guidelines for the proper application of this term to specialised traditions of academic research, as for example, to migration research. Such guidelines are only derivable from a general model of discourse, an outline of which has already been provided in the previous chapter. The purpose of this chapter is to examine some of the implications of this model for a conceptual analysis of academic migration research, as an example of a specialised area of social scientific research.

The concept of 'discourse' as it has been recently employed in the philosophy and history of science, as well as in studies of social history and semiotics, has become associated with the radical juxtaposition of different modes of thought, or classes of knowledge. It has typically been used to conceptualise historical discontinuities in the periodisation of science, as well as structural discontinuties in the demarcation of science from non-science. Forms of discourse have invariably been defined as much in terms of the properties which they are presumed to exclude, as those which they are presumed to include. Thus Bachelard has distinguished 'scientific' from 'commonsense' forms of discourse according to the alleged failure of the latter to construct, or 'cognize', their theoretical objects from a natural field of unreconstructed sense-data. Similarly, Althusser has contrasted the 'ideological' to the 'scientific' forms of discourse found in Marx's writings, in terms of the absence from the latter of the speculative and metaphysical categories of thought characteristic of the earlier writings. Although most of these attempts to employ the concept of 'discourse' as a means for distinguishing 'scientific' from 'non-scientific' classes of knowledge have rested upon dubious epistemological criteria, the concept, itself, has remained a potentially fruitful one for analysing developmental patterns in the growth of organised classes of knowledge, irrespective of any claims as to their 'scientific' status. It is in this heuristic sense of the term, therefore, rather than in any more normative sense, that the concept of 'discourse' has been introduced into this study as a general framework for the conceptual analysis of migration research.

Most recent accounts of the emergence of distinctive forms of discourse have normally emphasised the radical discontinuity of these new forms with previously prevailing forms of traditional discourse.

In the works of such structuralist, neo-structuralist and post-structuralist writers as Bachelard (1968, 1972), Athusser (1969, 1970), Foucault (1965, 1972), Barthes (1973), Derrida (1976) and Kristeva (1982), the discontinuities characteristic of successive forms of discourse have often been attributed to the presence of 'epistemological breaks', or 'ruptures', which have served to provide points of departure for the development of new forms of discourse.

Often, as in the cases of Bachelard and Althusser, the epistemological breaks between successive forms of discourse have been identified in normative terms with the advance of 'scientific' over 'commonsense' or 'ideological' problematics, although even in the case of Foucault, where such normative imputations are largely absent, the notion of 'epistemological break' has continued to play an important role in his general conception of discourse.

In most theoretical discussions concerning the origins of particular forms of discourse, the question of the constitution of a new form of discourse has generally entailed consideration of its demarcation from earlier forms.

This problem will be more thoroughly discussed in the following chapter, where the genealogy of migration discourse will be traced through some of the classical discourses of population study. It is argued throughout, that the rules of formation governing the emergence of academic fields of discourse require the development of a "theoretical object" around which the languages of observation and theory are structured.

In the case of migration discourse, the emergence of a theoretical object of discourse had to await the "scientific revolution" in population studies, which inaugurated the discourse of modern demography. It was within the discourse of demography, therefore, that the theoretical object of migration was later constructed through the processes of definition, classification, professional observation, and eventually, theory construction.

Part of the present prestige of the modern academic discourse of migration is based upon the *practical* implications of its investigations and conclusions for the formulation of public policy, most obviously in the area of immigration legislation.

In this sense, studies of migration share with a relatively small number of other branches of applied sociological research, including most branches of demography, a direct access to non-academic publics. By far the most important non-academic public to utilize the information produced by social scientific research in advanced industrial states is, of course, the state, through its various departments and agencies. In general terms, the demand of the state for social scientific research is oriented to such information as may be directly relevant to the formulation of public policy.

The relationship of academic migration discourse to migration policy is discussed in greater detail throughout the last chapter of this thesis. It will be argued that migration policy, much as migration research, may be conceptually analysed as a mode of discourse. Particular attention is paid in the final chapter, therefore, to the terms in which the "problems" of policy discourses are conceptualised and defined; as well as to the implications of these conceptualisations for legislated "solutions".

In this respect, the relationship between the academic and policy discourses of migration has remained ambiguous. While migration research has, on occasion, provided justification for legislative action, it has, on other occasions, provided a framework for the criticism of legislation.

The practical orientation of specialised branches of sociological research, and the potential applications of such information to the legislative, executive and judicial functions of the state is often apparent from the prevailing conceptual frameworks employed in many of these specialised research areas. To be of maximum utility in the contexts of practical application, it has traditionally been assumed by many academics and policy-makers, that information generated by scientific research should be based on quantifiable observations from which formalised predictive hypotheses can be drawn. In other words, the ideal conceptual structure for applied social scientific research has often been typified in the model of the physical sciences. Consequently, the conceptual status of sociological research has often been judged in terms of its degree of approximation to an ideal-typical model of natural scientific research.

According to these criteria, therefore, the type of sociological research with the widest range of practical relevance for non-academic publics has often been perceived as that research which apparently conforms most closely to the ideal of the natural sciences. Sociological research most typically approximates the ideal form of the natural sciences when the information generated by its research is produced according to some or all of the following epistemological criteria:

(1) a general consensus on the domain of facts constituting the data-base.

(2) a general unity of research methods.

(3) a predominance of empirical research over speculative theorising.

(4) use of formalised language(s) in the discourse of research.

The value of social scientific information based on those epistemic criteria, derives in part from the apparent rationalisation of such information. It may be observed that highly rationalised complex organisations, such as government departments, require highly rationalised information as a basis for decision-making and policy formulation. Policy oriented studies are for this reason, often highly rationalised accounts in which quantitative data almost invariably take precedence over more qualitative information. Notwithstanding the frequently descriptive and pragmatic content of policy-oriented research, therefore, the form in which such research data is collected and analysed is normally highly standardised, in terms of the instruments of data-collection and data-processing. This standardisation ensures a certain *generalisability* in the technocratic discourse of research, which makes it adaptable to a wide range of highly specific contexts of practical application. The technocratic discourse of research, therefore, which has been typical of much migration research, has come to represent a generalised medium of information which, irrespective of the particular content of its knowledge claims, functions in the world of ideas in much the same way as that of money in the world of commodities. To a considerable extent, such a parallelism indicates the degree to which the world of ideas, the symbolic product of socialised mental labour, is already incorporated into the structures of commodity production.

Among the branches of contemporary sociology, it is the specialised discourses of demography which produce information most closely allied to that of the descriptive natural sciences. Demographic information is normally collected from a common data-base, formulated in an numeral observation language, and is processed in terms of standard methodological operations. The current prestige of demography, therefore, as one of the more developed branches of sociology (if, indeed, it is still to be regarded as a branch of sociology), derives from its closer approximation to natural scientific research, which in turn renders it more generalisable for non-academic public consumption.

Demographic research has traditionally set the standards for the production of scientific information in studies of migration. At an earlier stage of development, the concepts and categories of migration research were developed from a legacy of classical population studies, while today many of the methods of measurement and techniques of projection have been imported from the inventories of statistical demography and econometrics. At the same time, however, demographic accounts are only one aspect of the total phenomenon of migration, even though they continue to set the standards for the production of "scientific" information. Considered as a total phenomenon, the contemporary study of migration is a compound field of discourse in which historians, economists, social psychologists, demographers, anthropologists and political scientists have all contributed to the polycentric structure of the area.

The division of (social) reality into a series of fragmentary perspectives bounded by separate sectoral disciplines has become a hallmark of the conceptual organisation of scientific (and social scientific) specialities. Given the global distribution of these social relations of scientific production, it is clear that they represent a universal tendency towards the progressive rationalisation and bureaucratisation of the modern discourses of science.

The disintegration of social reality through the compartmentalisation of science appears to have become a fundamental characteristic of scientific culture under all contemporary industrial regimes. Indeed, for some writers, such compartmentalisation is taken as an indication of an underlying ideological bias in modern scientific discourse. For an academic division of labour which parcels up the research process into progressively narrower frames of reference, thereby denies legitimacy to any more holistic conception of the underlying determinants of the social formation as a totality, (c.f. Blackburn 1972).

From its simple beginnings, the division of labour is society has grown increasingly complex as commodity production has continued its global penetration and domination of social relations. The separation and rationalisation of mental and manual labour which was necessary for the development of the present scientific culture represents one of the more powerful accomplishments of modern forms of commodity production.

The division of labour reflected in the sciences, and the compartmentalisation of such research areas as migration, therefore, may be seen as an integral part of the commodification of scientific labour-power which reaches its fullest development only in the modern industrial state.

The compartmentalisation of an area such as migration into a number of academic disciplines is, from the perspective of the modern social scientist, justified in terms of the progressive development of a rational division of labour. Such a division of labour facilitates the formulation of more technically refined research problems, which necessarily require the search for more technical and specialised solutions. Consequently, there is a general tendency for the problematics of research discourse to become increasingly isolated from each other. These tendencies have also been noted for other sociological sub-disciplines, and in a provocative paper analysing the conceptual and institutional development of the areas of criminology and demography. Taylor and Graham (1975:640-641) have drawn very similar conclusions.

> The careers of the subdisciplines of demography and criminology show, then, a gradual narrowing of focus and concomitant exclusion of alternative perspectives. Their initial claims to command central positions within social scientific theory have been successively abandoned as their representatives have been drawn into the production of practical policies, a process of incorporation which has been facilitated by their apparent ability to provide quantifiable answers to the questions posed by governments and social agencies about the relative state of 'health' of the nation. The result of this incorporation has been a retreat from theory. It is not that either area is positively anti-theoretical but rather that their theoretical formulations tend to be constructed in an *ad hoc* fashion in order to accommodate the findings derived from research of a quantifiable epi-

demiological nature, rather than being devised in order to guide the research in the first place.

Within the area of migration, which may be broadly defined to include research into the settlement and assimilation of migrants, as well as into their patterns of movement, there is a constantly expanding number of research frontiers which share little in the way of a common framework. The problems pursued at these research frontiers are often academically specific to the disciplines of which they are an integral part. They are thus divided in their formulations by the divergent theories, concepts and methods of the different disciplines which contitute the compound area of migration.

It has become apparent that this progressive academic division of labour has not been accompanied by the corresponding growth of any frameworks which could provide a basis for the conceptual and theoretical integration of otherwise unrelated sets of migration data.

This compartmentalisation of the total phenomenon, typical of contemporary studies of migration, as in other fields, is now a prevailing characteristic of modern social scientific research. Inasmuch as social relations, themselves, have become progressively segmented, and social consciousness increasingly fragmented, the modern academic division of labour in the social sciences would appear to further illustrate the operation of a general historical tendency in contemporary industrial societies.

Contemporary migration research is, in the most general sense, a conceptual expression of the present historical conjuncture of social relations in advanced industrial societies. In a more precise sense, the typical research agendas of many migration studies have almost invariably been set around a series of specialised issues which ultimately derive from the practical problems inherent in the administration and control of internal and international population movements. But this has resulted in the growth of empirical studies of migration without any corresponding development of systematic theory. A general theory of migration requires some conception of the area as a total social phenomenon which, for the most part, remains absent from contemporary research.

2. General Structure of Academic Migration Discourse

Any prospective overview of an area as complex as migration must necessarily remain selective in documentation, and somewhat abstract in the conceptualisation of general research trends. However, as this profile is primarily designed as an introduction to the study of migration discourse, it is not meant to be judged in terms reserved for more comprehensive reviews of migration literature. The scope of this initial survey of the literature therefore, has been largely determined by the prospective content of the thesis problematic, rather than by the more ambitious criteria of completeness, representativeness, *et cetera*.

Although no formal distinction has been made between 'internal' and 'international' migration in this review, the greater emphasis throughout the study will be on the literature of international migration as an aspect of the global circulation and transfer of world population. For the purposes of presenting a general profile of present research, however, bibliographies of both internal and international migration have been consulted.

From the perspective of a student of social science discourse, the state of migration research appears on first view to be a particularly disappointing area for theoretical study. Unlike many other areas of sociological specialisation, migration research appears on first view to be relatively free of basic theoretical controversy or methodological dissensus. Instead, the research domain of migration discourse appears to extend over an empirical field of facts virtually unbroken by any heights of theoretical or metascientific speculation. However, it is precisely in this quasi-objective appearance of migration research, an appearance which renders it so amenable to the production of information for technical and administrative interests, that a deeper structure of domain assumptions may be located and disclosed.

In order to simplify the following discussion of the general profile of the area therefore, selected bibliographical data have been organised around a series of themes indicative of the paramount presuppositions underlying the conceptual structure of contemporary migration discourse, which include:

(1) absence of systematic theory and research.

(2) compartmentalisation of research.

(3) dissolution of social relations.

2.1. Absence of Systematic Theory and Research

The data of migration discourse are universally acknowledged to be fragmented and unsystematic. The rapid accumulation of descriptive empirical studies made possible by improvements in statistical technique and recent advances in computer technology has resulted in the apparent surplus production of facts without theories. Where theoretical studies of migration have been explicitly introduced, they have generally been highly restricted in their application to specialised research problems, e.g. as in the spatial aspects of migration: the theory of intervening opportunities of Stouffer, (1960), or in the gravity model of Zipf, (1946).

The consequence of this pattern of development for contemporary migration research may be seen in the fact that the few explicitly theoretical studies in the area have been largely *ad hoc* in scope, i.e. they are not derived from any common problematic; they are unsystematic.

The underdevelopment of systematic theory and research has been recognised by most bibliographic reviewers of the area. One reviewer has drawn particular attention to this problem in his introduction to a comprehensive migration bibliography published in 1968,

> ". . . we found that, in spite of the large number of existing works dealing with migration, only a very few of them ventured any theoretical statements, and most them did not suggest any theoretical import for their empirical findings".
> Mangalam (1968:1).

The absence of systematic theory in studies of migration has consequently made it very difficult to utilise existing research findings as an analytical tool. The few available theoretical statements are derived from highly specific datasets, and are only useful in interpreting highly specialised areas of migration research. In this sense, most existing low-range theories of migration, ". . . fail to provide a general framework within which the vast amount of existing facts from different migration studies can be interpreted and given meaning." (Mangalam, (1968: 1))

Although the present state of migration research remains relatively undeveloped in general, or systematic, theory this is not to deny the attempts of past researchers to fill this need. Perhaps the earliest major attempt by a modern demographer to formulate a general framework for the study of migration was that of E.G. Ravenstein, who in 1885 formulated a series of 'laws of migration' which he delivered to the Royal Statistical Society, (Ravenstein, 1885). However, the universal status of these 'laws' was never accepted, and few subsequent researchers have attempted to formulate further comprehensive theoretical generalisations.

Several reasons have been advanced for the theoretical poverty of contemporary migration studies, some of which touch upon other issues related to the conceptual structure of the research process. Dorothy Thomas, for example, has attributed the absence of acceptable generalisations (about the selectivity of internal migration) to two basic factors: (Thomas, 1938)

(1) the newness of the field, and the lack of adequate data and techniques.

(2) the reaction of the 'fact-finders' to the conflicting and unfounded claims of earlier writers who had argued over whether migrants were better or worse than non-migrants.

However, since the time of this explanation, (1938), over forty years have now elapsed, so that the age of the specialisation area can no longer be used to effectively explain the absence of theory. On the other hand, the present preoccupation of migration discourse with descriptive and factual accounts to the exclusion of general or theoretical accounts may well constitute a reaction against an earlier tradition of historical studies. These studies, as Cross (1973) has documented in the United States, were deeply divided in their moral evaluations of immigrants, and the historical scholarship of this period is largely polarised between 'sympathetic' and 'antagonistic' interpretations.

In his 1968 bibliography of migration research, Mangalam has proposed four general reasons for the underdevelopment of systematic theory in the area, including:

(1) variations in the conceptualisations of migration.

(2) variations in that data-sets of migration studies.

(3) variations in the disciplinary orientations of research.

(4) neglect of migration research by social organisational theorists.

In one form or another, these reasons have been repeated by other commentators in the field of migration studies who have sought to explain the relative absence of systematic theoretical research from the area. Thus, in an introduction to a more recent bibliography of internal migration research, Shaw (1975) has proposed a similar set of reasons for the explanation of the absence of theory:

(1) different conceptualisations of migration, as a recurring/non-recurring event; as a process/unique event; as a stream/flow *et cetera*.

(2) different research designs of different disciplines use distinctive sets of variables: e.g. demographic criteria of migrant selectivity/cost benefit criteria of economic decisions of migrate; career and life-cycle criteria of sociological interpretations of migration.

(3) emphasis put on predictive control of migrant behavior, rather than on scientific explanation, where research is in the service of public policy.

(4) general failure to emphasise theory construction in the study of migration.

(5) unsatisfactory status of empirical variables as significant indicators of the dimensions of migration research.

Notwithstanding the general absence of systematic theory and research from contemporary studies of migration, several attempts have been made to construct more integrated frameworks for the conceptualisation and/or explanation of the migration process. These attempts have been formulated both as typologies, as in Gupta (1959), Heberle (1955), and Petersen (1958), or as general theories, as in Lee (1969), and Mangalam and Schwarzweller (1968, 1970). The status of these generalising frameworks will be discussed further in the body of the thesis, where they will be examined as classificatory schema, and as theoretical frameworks.

2.2. Compartmentalisation of Research.

The production of scientific knowledge as already noted is presently based upon a highly specialised academic division of labour. On a *material* level, this process of specialisation has resulted in the increasing isolation of different academic communities and sub-communities from each other, and the erosion of common structures of communication between them (Snow, 1959). On an *symbolic level*, the process of specialisation has abolished pre-modern conceptions of a unified natural or social order, and has replaced them with heavily segmented visions of reality (Marcuse, 1964; Ellul, 1964).

These tendencies have also been reproduced in the social sciences where the relatively holistic systems of classical theory have been exploded into the fragments of an ever-proliferating number of research specialisations (Becker, 1970). The area of migration, as a case in point, is similarly divided between a number of academic disciplines, and the heterogenous content of their research traditions presents difficult problems for any schematic classification.

The abandonment of categories of totality along with the progressive compartmentalisation of social scientific research, has had particularly deleterious consequences for the field of migration. As already indicated, it has resulted in the eclipse of systematic theory and research by a set of often unrelated descriptive studies and *ad hoc* empirical generalisations.

Although the structure of contemporary migration discourse appears largely heterogenous, an epistemic model can nonetheless be formulated which maps the different classes of statement co-existing within the field, and the different functions performed by each class in its relations with other classes.

The task of categorising the complex and extensive area of migration research has not, as yet, been undertaken in any comprehensive or definitive way. With the exception of more recent comprehensive bibliographical reviews such as those of Mandal (1981) and Lewis (1982) most current bibliographies of migration research are highly specialised compilations, emphasising such restricted areas of migration as the brain drain (Research Policy Program, 1975), urban migration (Larimore, 1965), rural migration (Connell, 1973), return migration (Bovenkerk, 1974), or internal migration (Shaw, 1975). Consequently, there has been little attention paid in these works to the problems of the general comparability, or to the range of migration research.

One attempt at a comprehensive classification of internal migration research provided by Shaw (1975) is instructive as an analysis of the conceptual structure of the area. For the purposes of a conceptual analysis of migration discourse, however, it is far too limited, being restricted to the area of internal migration and to the formal aspects of the research structure.

2.3. Dissolution of Social Relations.

The cognitive structure of migration discourse is identifiable not only from the formal compartmentalisation of research orientations, but also from the substantive theoretical and methodological content of contemporary research orientations. Several general characteristics of these orientations may be cited as representative of the prevailing conceptual organisation of the study of migration, for these orientations have as a common feature the dissolution of social relations of the migration process, and the replacement of these relations by desocialised categories of empirical social research.

a. *biological reductionism.*

In demographically-oriented studies of migration, the heavy emphasis on such ascribed characteristics as age, sex and race in predictions and/or explanations of the volume, direction and composition of migrant population flows has contributed to a general acceptance of reductionist frames of reference in the social demography of migration. Indeed, the interpretative frameworks of these studies have restored a new legitimacy to formerly discredited notions of physical or biological reductionism.

This aspect of the conceptual structure of migration research has been emphasised by Bogue (1959:505) in general terms:

> ...some of us have approached human migration as one would approach the study of the migration of birds or the dispersion of insects from a common course. Others have likened migration to the fundamental laws of descriptive mechanics, gravitation, or electrostatics.

The principal examples of biological/physical reductionism in current migration research may be seen from the emphasis placed on such variables as age and distance, although some theorists have attempted sociological formulations of these variables (c.f. the translation of 'distance' into the concept of 'intervening opportunity'by Stouffer, 1960).

The category 'sex' is also formulated as a biological variable, for the concept of 'sex-role' is relatively unknown in demographically-oriented studies of migration. The connection of biologically reductionist frameworks of migration research with the historical evolution of such controlling biological criteria as 'race' in the admission criteria of national immigration policies, is an understudied although significant political problem. There can be little doubt, however, that biologically reductionist migration research and biologically regulated immigration polices have reinforced each other in a number of important ways (Petersen, 1964).

b. *methodological individualism.*

Another procedure for the conceptual dissolution of the social content of the migration process may be termed, 'methodological individualism'. This refers to the emphasis placed on individual, rather than on social variables in many frameworks of migration research. Most psychological and sociopsychological studies have adopted a methodologically individualist research orientation with emphasis on such variables as (individual) attitudes, motives, and aspirations. The standard methodology of survey research employed for studies of this type ensures their derivation from the data provided by individual respondents.

The efficacy of this method of migration research has been justified by the practical ease with which such studies may be administered and quantified and, therefore, readily translated into policy recommendations. This point has been emphasised by Mangalam (1968:6):

> Migration as a social problem needs to be understood in terms of tangible remedial measures, and physical, biological, and psychological variables are more tangible in an immediately practical sense than some of the sociological variables. . .The more tangible and easily quantifiable the predictors, the more readily they are accepted. . .migrants have been treated largely like inanimate bodies moving through space and time.

The convention of methodological individualism employed in a wide range of sociological and sociopsychological migration studies has been rejected by many specialists working in the area of labour migration research. In this area, particularly, the assumption that the analysis of the migration process is reducible to the individual motivations of manifold migrants within a population flow has been criticised as inadequate and ideological (Amin, 1974). The logic of this assumption represents migrants as individuals who migrate because they are attracted by better remuneration for their work elsewhere. Thus the society of origin which they leave behind is little considered; it is supposed to be a conglomeration of individuals who have a choice of either staying or leaving; consequently, one rarely asks which individuals of a given society emigrate. Such a procedure is singularly inadequate inasmuch as it serves to eliminate all discussion of the mode of production and the social organisation of labour transfer systems. Instead, attention is directed to the problems of adaptation, assimilation, and acculturation of the newly arrived immigrant. Individuals are conceptualised as acting in response to environmental forces, maximising their individual interests, and in this sense, exercising control over their own destiny (Burawoy, 1976).

However, the process of unequal development and the progressive centralisation of labour-power and capital within the modern world-system, have made such assumptions appear more ideological than scientific. The individual can no longer be solely conceived of as a rational actor maximising interests under market forces. Increasingly, the flow of labour-power may be seen to be directed by supra-market institutions beyond the control of an individual or even a group of immigrants.

For these reasons, therefore, the analysis of such systems as migrant labour may require a different perspective: one focusing on the nature of external coercive institutions and their mode of organisation. Such a perspective may also serve as the basis for a general re-evaluation of the assumption of methodological individualism contained in other fields of migration research.

c. *conceptual ethnocentrism.*

Closely related to the assumptions of methodological individualism, and derived from the standard procedures of survey research, the assumption of 'conceptual ethnocentrism' has also reinforced the tendency for the dissolution of social relations in migration discourse. In most studies of migration, the literature of immigration to particular host states has tended to study the immigration process in relative isolation from the immigration practices of other host states, and has rarely supplemented these studies with related research of the emigration process from contemporary donor states. The typical study of immigration, therefore, often appears to proceed on the tacit assumption that the process of international migration may be adequately described and analysed in a framework that has tended to represent the host states as relatively *closed systems*. It is rarely the case that the host and donor states are analysed as interdependent parts of a system of international population transfer and circulation. The representation of such a system requires the formulation of a theoretical model of international migration which is derived from the historical context and socio-economic structure of the host/donor transfer relationship within which population movements occur. The traditional perspective of the host state adopted in most analyses of the migration process, therefore, has resulted in the conceptual oversimplification of many migration studies, and in the substitution of standardised 'empirical' methods for more historical and comparative studies of the process of international migration. It would thus appear that the limitations inherent in the conceptual framework of traditional studies of migration are directly related to the theoretical convention of adopting the perspective of the host state and thereby analysing it as a relatively closed system.

d. *formal ahistoricism.*

The final aspect of the conceptual tendency towards the dissolution of social relations in migration research is included largely as a corollorary to the above assumptions.

Most migration research has traditionally remained conspicuously ahistorical. It has been largely assumed in standard accounts of migration that the pattern of past migration processes may be adequately conceptualised and/or explained using concepts and frameworks presently accepted in contemporary migration research. This assumption is a hall-mark of much empirical social research, and derives from the fact that the standard methods of survey or statistical research are limited to synchronic time-frames. Longtitudinal studies, in this sense, are not regarded as 'historical' studies, as such, because the panel data upon which they are based is drawn from past survey researches.

In the area of migration studies, however, several critics have recently argued that the standard methods of empirical research are incapable of representing the historical specificity and structural complexity of the migration process, so that the traditional application of these methods has generated a research literature which is both one-sided and abstract (Nikolinakos, 1975).

Karl Marx may be said to have been one of the earliest critics to demonstrate the historical limitations of traditional population theories, and his recognition of the methodological significance of historical categories stands in sharp contrast to the standard assumptions of contemporary demographic research.

> . . .every specific historical mode of production has its own special laws of population, historically valid within its limits alone. An abstract law of population exists for plants and animals only, and only in so far as man has not interfered with them.
>
> Marx (n.d.; 1:592)

Until now, however, little systematic research has been conducted into the historical specificity of population movements, although Isaac (1947) has emphasised that the process of international migration at different periods can only be historically understood as a partial outcome of the complex set of relationships between public policy and social theory contained in prevailing ideologies of trade, manufacture, commerce and population.

In general terms, the standard assumptions of contemporary theory have developed as conceptual counterparts to the practical requirements of research. The conventional framework for much migration discourse, especially of international migration, reflects the limited horizon of research interest dictated by the administrative needs of public policy. Such research often appears designed to provide a clear formulation of the problems confronting public policy in the administration and control of migration and manpower, and to seek practical solutions to these problems of human resource management. Because such research is limited by the official contexts of problem formulation and solution, it may be regarded as *technocratic* research, in the sense that the research objectives are set within the context of public policy. Thus Mangalam's (1968:4) observations on the use of the socio-psychological frame of reference, could reasonably be expanded to include a wide range of contemporary migration discourse, inasmuch as,

> ". . .the emphasis is on migrants as individuals, and in the case of *ad hoc* hypotheses, the emphasis is on finding immediate solutions to pressing problems. Such studies are thus limited in their perspective, although each of them may have something to contribute towards a more general framework".

From this general overview of the conceptual organisation of academic migration discourse, we turn now to an examination of the genealogy of the field. We shall argue that the field of migration discourse was dependant for its formation on the transformation of classical population study into the modern discourse of demography, and on the development of a "theoretical problematic".

The following chapter traces the topic of migration, from its early dispersion in the fragments of classical population discourse, to its later emergence as a theoretical object in the discourse of demography. Succeeding chapters examine some of the conditions under which the construction of theoretical objects takes place within this field of discourse. These include the logical delimitation of the field, through definition and classification, and the construction of generative metaphors from analogical concepts drawn from other fields of discourse.

CHAPTER 3. THE ARCHEOLOGICAL ORIGINS OF MIGRATION AND POPULATION DISCOURSE

1. On the Problem of Reconstructing the Archeological Origins of Discourse.

2. The Archeological Origins of Population Discourse.

3. Population Discourse in the Classical Civilizations.

4. Population Discourse in Ancient Greece.

5. Population Discourse in Ancient Rome.

6. Population Discourse in the Mercantilist Era.

7. Migration and Population Discourse in the Mercantilist Era.

8. The Advent of Demographic Discourse.

9. Political Arithmetic and the Origins of Population Statistics.

1. On The Problem of Reconstructing The Archeological Origins of Discourse.

The paramount consideration for undertaking even a brief survey of early ideas regarding population and migration is that the knowledge gained through such an historical perspective often enables us to more adequately comprehend contemporary fields of discourse. As Kuhn (1970) has so convincingly shown for the discourse of natural science, when viewed against the dimension of historical time, contemporary fields of discourse lose their appearance of stability and inevitability. The perspective of history, it may be said, entails a characteristically critical standpoint, particularly when this perspective is used as a framework with which to judge the present. The historical viewpoint is based on a record of continuous change, sometimes of revolutionary change. When applied to the study of ideas, the historical perspective can often help to shatter any illusions of the permanence or finality of human knowledge, even of our most entrenched and taken-for-granted beliefs. In this sense, the historical imagination sensitises us to the mutability of all fields of discourse and to the inevitability of their eventual change and transformation. It is from a sense of history in the study of human affairs, therefore, that we can best learn the virtues of intellectual humility.

More than this, however, any attempt to reconstruct the historical origins of a particular field of discourse, however cursory, also promises to illumine the contemporary form in which the field is presently constituted. In the case of migration discourse, some familiarity with the early ideas of population and migration is necessary in order to be able to trace the genealogy of those concepts currently employed in the field. Ideas about migration, as well as other issues related to population, have undergone many changes over the past several millenia.

There is, however, a distinction to be made between traditional historical reviews of a field such as migration discourse and the "archeological" method which is proposed in the present work. Unlike traditional reviews which have almost invariably tended to read the history of science as a pattern of "progress" and "continuity", archeological accounts are more disposed to study the discontinuities and "epistemic breaks" for which readings may also be constructed.

Most traditional historiographies of demography have tended to read the earlier discourses of population through the discursive categories presently established in the field.

This at least has been the practice among contemporary demographers when reviewing the historical literature of their discipline. Such 'historical reviews' inevitably become occasions for celebrating the intellectual progress in the field through juxtaposing the rationality of modern forms of discourse with the irrationality of earlier forms.

Such a rationalised reconstruction of migration discourse is far from being the objective of the present review. Indeed, it could perhaps be said that what separates the archeological study of discourse from the traditional history of ideas is the approach taken by the archeologist to the early writings within a disciplinary area. Unlike most traditional intellectual historiographies, especially those of the scientific disciplines, which have tended to retrospectively reinterpret the content of earlier writings according to the latest standards of knowledge prevailing in the discipline, the archeology of discourse attempts to reconstruct earlier forms of discourse according to the standards of knowledge prevailing at the earlier time. Whereas the traditional historian of ideas has tended to analyse and describe earlier forms of discourse in terms of criteria external to the discourse therefore, the archeologist of discourse attempts more seriously to reconstruct earlier forms of discourse in terms of criteria which remain *internal* to their historical forms.

What, one may ask at this point, are the insights to be gained from an archeological review of earlier forms of discourse centering upon population and migration issues? In what ways does the reconstruction of historical discourse advance our understanding of the contemporary structure of migration discourse which remains, after all, the primary objective of this study?

Judging from the works of other writers who have pioneered the methods of structuralist historiography for fields of discourse as widely removed as mental health and deviance and crime, the archeological approach appears to be an indispensible condition for understanding contemporary forms of discourse. It is only through archeological analysis that the genealogy of modern concepts can be traced to their origins and early usages. It is only through archeological analysis that the elements of contemporary migration discourse can be apprehended as theoretical and historical objects—as objects, that is, which have evolved through historical time, and which have undergone the changes and transformations associated with successive reconstitutions of population discourse. The extent to which prevailing methodological and theoretical elements of modern population and migration discourse represent solutions to earlier disputes, or victories for earlier schools within particular discursive communities, all of these questions relating to the intellectual pedigree of the field of discourse—and to the structure of knowledge within the field—cannot be meaningfully posed without some type of archeological analysis.

An archeological approach to the study of discourse is also essential for the analysis of the deeper structures of contemporary migration discourse. By 'deep structures' is meant those elements within a system of discourse which normally remain unacknowledged and unanalysed by current members of the discursive community, but which continue to influence the production of knowledge in the field. The presence of unstated conceptual assumptions, uncritically received from earlier traditions of scholarship; the unexamined use of metaphors to describe empirically defined relations between phenomena; the taken-for-granted status of observation terms, all of these relatively 'unconscious' elements may together begin to define the levels of a 'deep structure' within a system of discourse. Because such elements have traditionally remained 'unconscious' or 'latent' elements within the system, their presence is best detected through an archeological analysis which is able to distinguish the continuities and discontinuities of historical and contemporary forms of discourse.

The analysis of the 'deep structure' of contemporary migration discourse thus plays an important part in any understanding of the overall conceptual organisation of the field.

The degree of consensus shared by members of a discursive community may be taken as one indication of the presence or absence of a paradigm structure within the field. In some cases the parameters defining the presence of paradigms within a field may, as in other types of conceptual framework, remain relatively invisible to members of the discursive community. To this extent, therefore, the detection of paradigms from such evidence as that of the domain assumptions, theoretical objects, modes of definition and classification, generative metaphors, and observation terms operating in fields of discourse remains, in part, an important task of archeological analysis.

One of the more fundamental questions which may be posed in regard to the archeological method of analysing discourse, concerns the question of the relationship of discourse to the extra-discursive reality of which it is a part. More precisely, this is not so much a question as to *what* is the nature of the relationship, but rather *how* is the relationship to be expressed or described? For many historians and sociologists of knowledge, the study of the relationship between modes of consciousness and the material conditions of their genesis and development has continued to define the classical programme of the sociology of knowledge. Traditional historiographies of knowledge, therefore, especially those undertaken by sociologists, have invariably attempted to "locate" or "situate" the internal elements of particular systems of discourse within the contexts of their external historical or cultural environments. This, after all, is what has typically defined the sociology of knowledge as an academic project.

To the student of discursive formations, however, any such attempt to define forms of theoretical consciousness in terms of categories which originate outside of, or beyond, the limits of discourse must remain an illusory and futile exercise. Discourse can only be elucidated through other forms of discourse. History, as much as nature, therefore, is only available to us through the categorial and conceptual frameworks which have evolved through successive forms of discourse. *We have no more direct access to an uninterpreted historical reality than we have to an uninterpreted natural reality.* All references to 'objective' historical conditions, which are presumed to remain 'external' to a particular form of discourse appear, upon closer inspection, to be constituted from elements of another, often interrelated field of discourse.

In this sense, the student of discursive formations is obliged to accept some kind of Kantian solution to the problem of the internal and external limits of discourse. For although a reasonable ontology of discourse may require the assumption of a reality external to any particular form of discourse, a reasonable epistemology of discourse requires the assumption that any such reality can only be known through a particular form of discourse. "Whereof we cannot speak", as Wittgenstein (1923) observed, "thereof we cannot know".

This then, is the subtle yet profound question which lies at the heart of the project of discourse analysis. The solution briefly sketched above must, for the time being, at least, suffice as an answer to this vexacious question, and must also serve as a rational justification for this project.

2. The Archeological Origins of Population Discourse.

Although the topic of human migration has been discussed by philosophers, statesmen and other observers, either directly or incidentally, for several thousands of years, it is only recently that migration has been constituted as a *theoretical object*, centred within a specialised field of discourse.

To say that a topic such as migration has become a "theoretical object" is to suggest that it has been reconstituted from the field of ordinary language discourse into a more specialised field. Within this specialised field, the terms of reference of migration discourse are no longer framed by the general rules which govern the construction of ordinary language topics, but by the more specialised rules which govern the construction of theoretical topics in population and demographic discourse. To become a theoretical object of discourse, an object is no longer apprehended as a general topic of everyday experience, but as a specialised topic related to other specialised terms and concepts within a restricted field of discourse, and without which it cannot be fully understood.

However, the reconstitution of the topic of migration as a specialised field of discourse is a relatively recent occurrence, and one which reflects the growing interest shown by a number of powerful institutional agencies in centering on migration as a practical topic. In a general sense, the rise and fall of specific fields of discourse, as in the case of all discursive formations, reflects the changing interests of those in social positions of power and influence. The emergence of specific fields of discourse is, therefore, partly determined by the discursive practices employed by major institutional actors within a social system. In the case of migration, for example, its rise to prominence as a well defined field of discourse in this century may be understood, in part, as a consequence of the changing discursive practices of such agencies as government immigration branches, transportation companies, welfare agencies, church organisations, as well as many other institutional actors. For the most part, it would appear that in any social situation, the ability to construct discursive formations through historically specific discursive practices is a function of *power*. The concept of 'discourse' remains, therefore, inextricably linked to the concept of 'power'.

Before the advent of migration research as a specialised and delimited field of discourse, references to the topic of migration are to be found scattered among the writings of philosophers, statesmen, political economists, historians and others; dispersed, that is, between a number of different fields of discourse. The task of reconstructing the origins of migration discourse, even for the purposes of a relatively brief review such as this, becomes that of re-collecting a sample of the historical fragments which have had some direct bearing on the topic of migration. Given the potential immensity of this task, it should again be emphasised that the present survey must remain merely suggestive in its approach to the historical process underlying discourse formations, and necessarily schematic in its presentation of documentary evidence.

Perhaps the most important starting point for any study of migration discourse is the recognition that the topic of migration has always remained an element within the more general structure of population discourse. This was certainly the case in the early references to migration where the topic was invariably discussed in terms of some other frames of reference, whether of the military implications of population movement, or of the effects of migration on such economic variables as wages or productivity. And to a great extent, notwithstanding the fact that the topic of migration is now discussed within a highly specialised field, it still remains an integral part of the broader structure of population discourse.

The discourse of migration, therefore, originates in the more general discourse of population. In the earliest times, however, population issues did not provide the basis for an autonomous field of discourse; on the contrary, such issues were often only peripherally related to the more central and prevailing topics of the day. Given this reality, the task of 'recovering' the early themes of population discourse necessarily involves something of a reconstruction from the scattered fragments dispersed among the writings of various disciplines. For this reason, therefore, we have chosen to begin our archeological analysis of migration discourse with a brief overview of the early manifestations of population discourse. In order to document, within a limited scope, the changes which occurred in the structure and content of historical population discourses, we have resorted to a highly schematised retrospective account.

The periodisation of population discourse, therefore, is represented here as a series of distinctive world views, each of which recombines the elemental topics of population into a different structure of discourse. While these world views are not sufficiently elaborated to warrant the designation 'paradigm', they do, however, define the historical contexts of meaning in which changing forms of population discourse have been framed. For this reason, we refer to them as 'discursive regimes', as they appear to accurately typify the prevailing themes of successive historical periods.

3. Population Discourse in the Classical Civilizations.

Looking back at some of the early references to population contained in the writings of philosophers, statesmen, theologians and legislators of the classical civilisations, it is apparent that population concerns were invariably raised in connection with other, more pressing issues of the times. Population was not discussed as a topic of interest in its own right, but in terms of how it effected other significant contemporary issues—often those related to problems of state, or to considerations of military strength. In this sense, therefore, it can be seen that population did not become a special or autonomous field of discourse for the ancients, nor was the topic of population conceived during these times as a 'theoretical object'; for the most part, population, when it was discussed at all, was discussed as a practical problem for statesmen, legislators and the like, and the development of classical ideas on population took place within well defined and firmly entrenched prevailing fields of discourse.

At the same time, however, the extent to which the issues of population—primarily those of population growth and population control—entered into the content of classical fields of discourse may be seen as directly related to the contemporary forms of discursive practice. Thus many of the classical writings on the theory and practice of population may be understood either as attempts to formulate population policies, or as attempts to legitimise already existing policies. Population issues entered the discourse of politics, ethics, theology, history etc. through the discursive practices of statesmen and legislators; the elaboration of population doctrines was, from the earliest times, inextricably linked to the formulation of population policies. In an important sense, the relationship of discourse to discursive practices has to be seen as essentially dialectical in character, for while practices have evidently contributed to the emergence and transformation of fields of discourse, discourses, themselves, have at other times reciprocally conditioned the development of practices.

The interconnectedness of classical population discourse and population policy has been recognized by most authorities writing of the early period. Thus Nam (1968:64), for example, observes:

> The early writers in this field were concerned primarily with questions of public policy relevant to population; the policies which they recommended or attempted to justify were predicated... on certain assumptions (which) were not always explicitly stated... consequently, the thought of early writers on these subjects was influenced more than that of modern scholars by their preoccupations and relatively superficial observations.

In his review of classical population doctrine, Keyfitz (1972:41) also emphasises the very practical considerations which normally lay beneath the early writings on population.

> Philosophers, counsellors to princes, theologians and legislators have elaborated population doctrines and promoted policies based on them, or else promoted policies and created doctrines to buttress them...Views of population are linked to views of the state and of society as a whole...

Most scholars who have surveyed the early contributions of the classical writers to population theory have emphasised the fragmentary and unsystematic character of this literature. The early writings on population tend to be dispersed among several fields of discourse, and references to population issues are invariably coloured by ethical, political or religious overtones. To this extent, therefore, it is difficult to avoid a similar fragmentation when attempting to summarise and bring together samples of the classical traditions of population literature, for it is not possible to represent population discourse during this era as an autonomous field. At the same time, however, a number of essential themes appear to emerge, even from the scattered references available to us; and it is to those uniformities that we shall now turn in an effort to provide some schematic classification of classical population discourse.

Perhaps one of the more fundamental points of departure separating some traditions of classical population discourse and practice from others can be seen in the values placed by different writers on the importance of large populations and high rates of fertility. Indeed, it may be argued that the literature of population throughout the classical period—and by extension, up to the present period—is divisible into those writers for whom large populations and high fertility rates were viewed as healthy and desirable states, and those writers for whom population stability within optimum limits was viewed as a desirable state. In some ways, therefore, the entire periodisation of population doctrine could be reduced to the record of these two alternative interpretations of population history. But to do so would be to radically oversimplify the diversity of historical opinion on population-related issues, and would consequently impoverish our understanding of the historical specificity of different conceptions of population. Notwithstanding this problem, however, it is apparent that most discussions of population issues can be divided according to whether the respective writers place a higher value on population growth, or on population stability. The task of historical discourse analysis, therefore, is to show how this prevailing division in the literature of population has been successively redefined with the emergence of each new form of population discourse.

In writing of the classical period preceeding the emergence of the modern nation-state, Stangeland (1904:14) has suggested that population discourse may be most readily distinguished on the basis of whether it has emerged from the (discursive) practices of societies oriented towards war, or from societies oriented towards peace. It is in those societies which have been oriented towards war, he suggests, and which have undergone a militarisation of their social and economic institutions, that the strongest preferences for large populations and high fertility rates are to be found. It is in such societies, that the value of large populations assumes a predominantly military significance which may be frequently legislated into legal codes or sanctions favouring fertility and penalising infertility.

> Where war is common we find, as a rule, that custom and law are favourable to increase in numbers; and this we may ascribe to the consciousness that with numbers usually goes strength, and with superior strength in battle go the spoils of war. But when war ceases to be a natural state of man, and when tribes or nations renounce the policy of mutually endeavouring to ruin each other and begin to seek means of subsistence in production and exchange, the doctrine that a large population is always the *summum bonum* of the state ceases to be regarded as true.

In some ways, as we shall illustrate, such a classification of the practices and doctrines of classical population literature into war-oriented and peace-oriented world views is instructive for an understanding of the essential antinomy of pro-natalism and anti-natalism which runs throughout the history of population discourse. It is, perhaps, on the basis of this classification that the similarities and differences of classical population doctrines, as they have manifested themselves at different times and at different places, can most effectively be compared.

4. Population Discourse in Ancient Greece.

For many of the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean, as Overbeek (1974:23) records, population issues were normally defined within the context of a religious mode of discourse. From the period of the phallic cults onwards, the reproductive powers of mankind were often ascribed a sacred significance. With the influence of ancestor worship, the meaning of population was extended in many religions to refer to the unbroken link between the communities of the living and of the dead. It was believed by many peoples that the man who died without leaving sons behind him to sustain him with prayers and sacrifices, would remain a lonely and hungry spirit. Viewed from this perspective, therefore, it is easy to understand why many of the peoples of the ancient world placed such great importance on the value of large families and high birth rates. And indeed, similar frameworks of meaning are to be found in many parts of the world today. Under these conditions, the value of a large population remains self-evident, and is reinforced by various articles of faith and religious belief.

Looking back on the views of these early peoples on such topics as marriage and childbearing, modern demographers often explain these views by reference to the high death rates prevailing in traditional societies, and the consequent need for rapid rates of natural replacement. It should be remembered, however, that the justifications which were provided in most traditional societies for the creation of large families arose from the forms of discourse already prevailing in these societies, and not necessarily from any of the considerations which now occur in retrospect to modern demographers. It is for this reason that the population practices of the ancient world were invariably justified either in religious terms or in terms of the political and military soveriegnty rather than to anything that would today be regarded as a purely demographic criterion.

In addition to religious concerns, it is probably accurate to suggest that the political and military implications of population practices remained paramount considerations for the principalities, kingdoms and empires of the ancient world. The rulers of these societies tended to equate political power with large numbers, and the desire for large standing armies invariably underlay the commitment of kings and emperors to the policies of large populations.

A further indication of the importance of fertility for the population of the ancient world can be found in the records of the laws and statutes governing the institutions of marriage and child-bearing. Even in the oldest legal code known to date, which was drawn up in the reign of Hammurabi (2130-2088 B.C.), certain texts are contained which give some evidence of the desire to maintain and increase the population (c.f. Overbeek, 1974: 23). Thus a childless union allowed the husband to take a concubine. In the case of marital dissolution, either through death or separation, the safety and education of the children were further guaranteed by the decree which stated that the mother could not remarry before her sons had grown up. These and similar practices which appear in other legal codes testify to the importance of fertility for the peoples of the ancient world, and to an almost unanimous commitment to the policies of large populations.

When we turn to the case of ancient Greece, however, we are able to find an exception to the general rule of population discourse throughout the classical period. For whereas most of the population doctrines of the ancient world emphasised the positive values to be gained from large populations with high rates of natural increase, the population doctrines of Ancient Greece placed a much greater emphasis on the values to be gained from relatively stable populations.

At the same time, however, ancient Greek population doctrines also provide an interesting contrast between those doctrines which emphasised the values of population stability and those doctrines which continued to emphasise the more traditional values of large and fertile populations. These contrasting views of population are nowhere more strikingly exhibited than in the case of Sparta and Athens. These two states may be distinguished in Stangeland's terms as "war-oriented" and "peace-oriented" societies, and it is apparent that the political and moral values which underlay the discussion and legal codification of population policies and practices within these two societies were based upon very different sets of discursive practices.

In the case of Sparta, which, it is generally agreed, was among the most warlike of the Greek city states, discursive references to population issues were greatly influenced by military considerations. The view of marriage held in the Spartan *polis* emphasised that the real purpose of the institution was the procreation of children. For in a society where the population was frequently decimated by wars, references to population policy centred upon the need for replacing the supply of men and young citizens lost in battle.

Towards this end, the Spartans introduced a series of regulations which were designed to ensure that population practices conformed to the general military objectives of the state.

For this reason, every Spartan was compelled to marry; celibacy was punished by public sentiment and by written law; and bachelors suffered many legal and political disabilities. The laws would not permit the continued postponement of marriage, nor would they permit marriages according to individual inclinations, unless these conformed to state regulations. The prime requisite of a good marriage, according to Spartan law, was that it should be one likely to produce children of sound mind and body.

There appear to have been few, if any, fears expressed over the possibilities of overpopulation in Sparta, except insofar as the population of *elots*, of slave population, was concerned. Although the practices of abortion and infanticide were common, infanticide through exposure was normally undertaken in order to terminate the lives of infants who were born deformed, and who were perceived in some way as genetically unfit. Thus, even these harsh practices were justified, not in terms of controlling population growth, but more as techniques of selective breeding designed to improve the general stock of male population and to render it fit for military training.

The Spartan ideals of population are well summarised by Stangeland (1904: 20-21) who refers to the writings of Xenophon in the *Lacedemonian Republic*.

> He (i.e. Xenophon) mentions with approval the fact that Lycurgus permitted and approved the exposing of infants who were unfortunate in their birth and were deformed, in order to make the population stronger physically and mentally and to avoid overburdening and impoverishing parents and consequently the state, with useless or superflous offspring. He "reckoned the matter of procreation of children of the greatest consequence to free women".

Even from such a cursory description of the discursive fragments on population, it is apparent that population theory and practice in Ancient Sparta was largely subordinated to the predominantly military requirements of the state. In this respect, Sparta may be seen as generally typical of the warrior societies and empires of the classical civilisations, many of which considered population issues, if at all, in terms of political sovereignty and military strength. However, these considerations were by no means restricted to the warrior societies of the antique world. The military and political implications of population continued to dominate the discourse of the early Mercantilists throughout the period of the consolidation of the European nation states, and in some respects, this tradition of population discourse has survived through the Neo-Mercantilist doctrines of some contemporary states.

In many ways, the population discourse which arose in the neighbouring city-state of Athens contrasted sharply with many of the assumptions contained in the Spartan view of population. Unlike the Spartans, who emphasised the values of a large and fertile population, Athenian writers exhibit a far greater sensitivity to the problems of overpopulation. Indeed, it is in the writings of Athenian philosophers and statesmen that we find some of the earliest examples of projected numerical limits to population growth, which may be seen as early statements of the concept of 'optimum population'. The differences between the pronatalist population assumptions of Sparta and the relatively antinatalist assumptions of Athenian discourse corresponds, on one level, to the distinction proposed by Stangeland between war-oriented and peace-oriented societies; and in this sense they reflect differences in the historical evolution of the two societies. At another level, however, Athenian population discourse also reveals the profound influence of other prevailing traditions of discourse, most notably in the fields of political and moral philosophy, where the writings of Plato and Aristotle exerted considerable influence.

Unlike the Spartans, therefore, whose written legal codes were largely directed towards increasing the military strength of the warrior state, Athenian writings show a greater preoccupation with the problems of good government and the ideals of democratic politics within the city-state. In an important sense, the political discourse of the Athenians may be understood as the discourse of the small-scale political community in which concerns over the supply of military manpower are exchanged for concerns over the equal distribution of scarce resources among a local population. It is in this context, therefore, that the distinctive character of Athenian population discourse has to be understood.

Some of the most direct references to population control occur in Plato's writings on the ideal commonwealth. While discussing the need for fertility control in the utopian *Republic*, Plato recommended that the maximum number of citizens within the *polis* be held at 5040 a number which, he argued, "is most likely to be useful to all cities, because it has fifty-nine divisions and will furnish numbers for war and peace, and for all contracts and dealings, including taxes and the division of the land" (c.f. Nam, 1968:45). Plato's conception of an optimum population, therefore, was based in part on a numerical figure which would prove convenient for the purposes of administrative division. It should be emphasised, however, that the status of 'citizen' in Ancient Greece was only extended to male property owners, and excluded by definition both women and slaves. Thus a *polis* containing 5040 citizens would, when taking into account the number of dependents in a household, probably have a total population of about 60,000 and, given the various amounts of territory assigned to ideal city-states, a population density of 75 to 300 persons per square mile (Nam, 1968:45).

Plato also advocated other methods of controlling the population. He felt that only the ablest citizens (by which he meant warriors and philosophers) (c.f. Overbeek, 1974:24) should be allowed to reproduce. He was, however, against the principle of permanent unions during the childbearing years and suggested that sexual partnerships for the purpose of procreation should be dissolved after a month of cohabitation. The offspring of these temporary unions were to be raised by specially trained nurses rather than by their biological parents.

It was, then, according to these strictly rational principles that Plato analysed the problem of population in his philosophical discourse.

Population issues were analysed wholly within the context of the Greek *Polis*, or the political community of the city-state and for this reason, Plato remained sensitive to the problems of excessive population growth. In addition to the restriction of procreation to eligible citizens within temporary unions, Plato also recommended a series of other population control measures including infanticide, abortion, colonisation and social stigma. In making sense of his scattered and fragmentary references to population issues however, it has to be understood that his theory of population was simply a logical extension of his theory of the Ideal State. According to this theory, decisions regarding childbearing and child-rearing were largely removed from the individual and transferred to the authority of the State, which was seen as the custodian of the rights and interests of all citizens within the *Polis*. Indeed, according to Plato's doctrine, it was only in the context of the city-state that the individual citizen as a *zoon-politicon* could find the truest fulfilment of his political nature in the common good of all citizens. For this reason, the fragmentary discourse on population found in Plato's writings cannot be adequately understood apart from the larger context of his political and philosophical discourse.

The general assumptions of Aristotle's population discourse depart very little from the principles set down in Plato's writings. Aristotle, had, perhaps, a somewhat more humanistic view of marriage than Plato. In contrast to Plato's view that the sole purpose of marriage is reproduction, Aristotle explicitly emphasised the moral value of the institution. He saw marriage not simply as a means for bringing children into the world, but as a partnership in which men and women spend their time with one another, sharing their joys and sorrows. At the same time, however, Aristotle was no less committed than Plato to the principle that marriage should be regulated by the state in the general interest of all citizens. Thus Aristotle, like Plato, recommended that such factors as the age of marital partners, the number of children per family, the division of property etc., should be regulated by law in the interests of the political community as a whole. In his recommendation of such population control practices as infanticide, abortion and exposure, Aristotle's views did not differ significantly from those of Plato. Although he was less specific than Plato in his definition of the optimum size of a population, Aristotle stressed that unless the size of a population was limited, poverty would result, bringing in its wake the possibilities of civil discord and the breakdown of good government.

For Aristotle, as for Plato, therefore, the concept of an 'optimum population' was inseparable from his view of the ideal state: a form of discourse which necessarily owes its origins to the discursive practices of the Greek *polis*.

The population doctrines of Plato and Aristotle exemplify a world view which originates in the small-scale independent and democratic political communities which populated Greece for several centuries prior to the advent of the Christian era. In one sense, perhaps, this form of political discourse may be seen as a product of the historical conditions which gave birth to it; in another sense, however, and one that we shall emphasise throughout the study, the historical conditions of the Greek *polis* can equally be seen as a product of the discourse of its times. It is only through the remains of such discourse that we have been able to retain an historical record of the city-state which still enables us to view the Greek world and its problems through the eyes of its contemporary citizens.

5. Population Discourse in Ancient Rome.

Whereas the Greek ideal of perfection might be realised through artistic and intellectual development within the confines of a small and self-limited State, the Roman View of the State involved conquest, power and empire, and necessarily included the ideal of universal domain. "These differences in political ideal," observes Stangeland (1904: 29) "explain the differences in the Greek and Roman views of the problem of population. The Romans needed an increasing population; new soldiers were always required to fill ranks depleted in the wars of conquest. Hence we find that, like the Greeks, the Romans attempted to regulate marriage by law, but it was always the aim of the Roman legislator to stimulate increase of population, never to limit it."

The Roman view of marriage, even more than the Spartan, to which it bears some similarity, emphasised that the primary function of the institution was the procreation of children, *liberum quaesundum gratia* (c.f. Stangeland, 1904: 29). Indeed the bearing and raising of children was looked upon as an important civic duty of all citizens of the Republic, and failure to contribute to the reproduction of the population was regarded as a major neglect of civic responsibility. During the early days of the Republic, censors attempted to stimulate the growth of population by invoking a number of positive or negative sanctions in an effort to induce citizens to take seriously their reproductive responsibilities. Sometimes rewards or immunities were granted to those who accepted the obligations of matrimony and parenthood; while at other times penalties, as for example, the special taxes, *aes uxerum*, were imposed on persistent bachelors (c.f. Stangeland, 1904: 29-30).

The most complete record that we have of the official Roman view regarding the importance of marriage to the demographic well-being of the state survives in the legal codes enacted during the reigns of Julius and Augustus Caesar—the *Lex Julia et Papia-Poppoea*. These laws officially divided Roman Society into three classes: the unmarried (*caelibes*), the parents (*patres et matres*), and the childless (*orbi*). In administering these laws, the Emperor Augustus appears to have had several purposes in mind among which were the encouragement of marriage and fecundity among the dominant classes; the imposition of large disabilities on the childless; and the discouragement of the licentiousness of the times. The main statutes of the *Lex Julia* included some of the following provisions (Stangeland, 1904: 33-34):

1. Marriages between persons of senatorial rank and persons of servile rank were discouraged, although concubinage was permitted.

2. Severe disabilities were placed on those who were of marriageable age but who remained single.

3. Special privileges in public and private law were given to those who were married and had several children including: payment of income supplements; exemption from public burdens; rights of married mothers to wear distinctive garments or ornaments; and other such entitlements.

4. Disabilities were imposed on unmarried persons, as well as childless unions, in regard to all inheritances and bequests from persons who were not blood relatives.

Although as many commentators now agree, these laws failed to bring about their desired effects, they are indications of the official view of the Roman State on issues pertaining to population, and help us to isolate the basic assumptions of Roman population discourse. Nowhere was the pro-natalist doctrine of population argued more vigorously than before the Senate of Ancient Rome, and in the conclusion to one speech, in particular, delivered on behalf of Augustus Ceasar, we find an eloquent testimony of the importance to fertility to the Roman State (Stangeland, 1904: 31)

> While sickness and war snatch away so many citizens, what must become of this state if marriages are no longer contracted? The city of Rome, of which we are justly proud, does not consist of its houses, its porticoes and public edifices: it is the men of Rome that constitute the city. We must not expect to see, as in our ancient fables, human beings spring forth out of the earth to perform the work of the state. Your celibacy is not owing to the desire to live alone ....
>
> You seek only to enjoy irregularities undisturbed .... My only object is the perpetuity of the State. I have increased the penalties of those who disobey; and as to rewards, they are such that I believe virtue has never received greater. For less will a thousand men give life itself; and yet will not then persuade you to take a wife and provide for children?

In looking back at the fragments of population discourse that came out of the classical civilisations of Greece and Rome, therefore, we are able to discern certain patterns of similarity and difference which are suggestive of some general themes. This is not to suggest, however, that the brief selection of examples from Greek and Roman writings can be treated as representative of all other classical civilisations of the pre-Christian era. The choice of Greece and Rome is largely a reflection of the sources of documentation available in translation, many of which now form an essential part of the conscious intellectual heritage of the western world. It hardly needs to be said that any review, no matter how cursory, having any pretention to examine population discourse in the ancient world must, of necessity, include some coverage of the non-European civilisations. In this respect, the present review remains essentially incomplete owing to the relative paucity of secondary documentary sources on the population doctrines of the classical civilisations of China, Egypt and the Middle East.

At the same time, it should be noted that one of the earliest documented theories of population occurs in *The Muqaddimah* of Ibn Khaldun, (1958). In these and other writings, Ibn Khaldun outlined a cyclical theory of historical and cultural change in which the passage from nomadism to sedentary life is seen as evidence of the inexorable decline of social orders, from their early state as robust barbaric cultures, to their later decadence as established civilizations. The state of nomadism was, for Ibn Khaldun, associated with the frontier virtues of independence and frugality, while the state of sedentarism was associated with the metropolitan vices of indulgence and corruption. In its own way, therefore, the work of Ibn Khaldun provides one of the great literary celebrations of the migrant in history, a theme which later reappears in the work of such other geo-political historians as Oswald Spengler and Arnold Toynbee.

Even for a cursory review of the population writings of Greece and Rome, however, several themes emerge which appear relevant to more general considerations on the theory of discourse.

Perhaps the most evident point of difference separating Greek from Roman population doctrine is the issue of fertility. In Roman writings, as we have seen, there is an underlying assumption of the inherent desirability of large populations—what may be termed a "pro-natalist" ideology—and it is this assumption which finds its practical expression in the legislative provisions governing the status of unmarried and childless citizens in ancient Rome.

Most Greek writings on population, with the exception of Sparta, however, emphasised the desirability of a relatively stable population within the context of the city-state. Indeed, in the case of Plato, the concept of an "optimum population" is given a very precise numerical definition. While other writers may not have provided such exact numerical estimates of optimal population ceilings, the Greek view was generally favourable to the control of population, and sensitive to some of the economic and social problems associated with the excessive growth of population. This does not necessarily mean, of course, that the Greeks may be represented as direct precursors of the Malthusian doctrine of population, for the Greek doctrine arose in a very different historical context, and within a very different horizon of meaning.

There is another significant difference, however, between the form of population discussion found in Ancient Greece, (again with the exception of Sparta), and that which came later in the Roman Republic. This could be termed, the difference between the (relatively) "theoretical" character of the Greek discourse, and the "practical" character of the Roman (and Spartan) discourse. There is an important sense in which the platonic writings on population projected beyond the immediate "social reality" to construct speculative population ceilings and, in effect, to formulate the theoretical concept of "optimum population". In Plato's writings, therefore, the theoretical construction of "population utopias" may be seen as an outcome of his more general philosophical project, the construction of "political utopias"; and it is in this sense inherently more theoretical than the Roman discourse which came later.

These differences in the treatment of population issues, as the "theoretical objects" of Greek discourse, and as the more "practical objects" of Roman (and Spartan) discourse, also reflect differences in the discursive practices of the two societies—that is, the way in which discourse was institutionalised. Whereas practice and discourse in Athens presupposed an independent and relatively democratic (given the restrictive definition of "citizen") local political community, Roman discourse necessarily presupposed a more autocratic political community based not on the local *polis*, but on the Continental Empire.

Unlike the Greeks, therefore, who discussed population from the perspective of an independent self-governing collectivity, in which general participation and freedom of debate was presupposed, the Romans discussed population from the perspective of an Imperial State in which sovereignity and authority were centralised in the person of the Imperial Caesar. For the Romans the practice of discourse was inseparable from the practice of domination, and it is for this reason that Roman population discourse survives largely as a series of legal codes which address the practical problems of implementing Imperial population policy.

For the Greeks, on the other hand, the practice of discourse, based as it was on the traditions of local self-government, was often related to the practice of communal self-reflection, which accounts in part for the philosophical and more theoretical content of Greek population discourse. These differences have been touched upon by other writers, some of whom have suggested that the contrasting content of Greek and Roman population discourse may be understood in terms of the underlying differences in the discursive practices of the two societies.

Thus Nam (1968:66) has observed that:

> "The Romans, like the Chinese, viewed population questions in the perspective of a great empire rather than a small city-state. They were less conscious than the Greeks of possible limits to population growth and more alert to its advantages for military and related purposes. Perhaps partly because of this difference in outlook, Roman writers paid less attention than the Greeks to population theory, but were much concerned with the practical problem of stimulating population increase".

The characteristic dispersion of population references among the dominant discourses of antiquity remained typical of other discursive regimes throughout the pre-modern period. During the age of Mercantilism in Europe, population references became increasingly important elements in the discourse(s) of political-economy, particularly in relation to the main topics of trade, manufacture and colonisation. Even during this period, however, population references remained peripheral to the main objects of discourse. It was only towards the end of this regime that population fragments of other discourses began to centralise around a specialised object of discourse. The formation of an autonomous field of population discourse, the precursor of the modern discourse of demography may be traced to the writings of John Gaunt in the Seventeenth century, with the development of a new language of observation; and to the writings of Thomas Malthus in the Eighteenth century, with the development of a theoretical object of population discourse.

The remainder of this chapter will review some fragments of population discourse dispersed throughout the régime of Mercantilism in light of the "epistemic break" which took place in the late seventeenth century with the rise of an autonomous field of population discourse.

6. Population Discourse in the Mercantilist Era.

The basic principles of mercantilism which grew out of the long-term political and economic policies pursued by the European nation states from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century were also applied to the formulation of population policy. In much the same way as the principles of political economy, however, the general principles of population were developed in the context of discussions that already surrounded the practical issues of population, and these discussions were largely the province of traders and merchants rather than (as they would become in the late Nineteenth and early Twentieth century), political economists or professional demographers. We shall, therefore, briefly examine the mercantilist discourse of population issues as it related to the processes of international colonisation and migration.

The central preoccupation on population issues for most of the mercantilist era, and one that stands in the sharpest contrast to the later preoccupations of the Malthusians, was the desirability of a large national population. Whatever other differences may have appeared between writers of the mercantilist period in the three centuries from feudalism to industrial capitalism, the desirability of a large national population was almost uniformly accepted by all writers of the period. Thus in 1673, Sir William Temple could pronounce without fear of contradiction that,[1]

> the true and natural ground of trade and riches is the number of people in proportion to the compass of the ground they inhabit. (Temple 1673)

Another typical statement of the mercantilist view on population and national wealth was provided by William Horsley in 1753.

> Herein consists the Marrow of that Maxim, *that Numbers of people are the Wealth of a Nation*: as where they are plenty, they must work cheap, and so Manufacturers are encouraged for a foreign market, and their Returns is the Wealth of a Nation, which numbers thus procure (Horsley, 1753).

The importance of a large national population for the mercantilist principles of political economy was much in evidence between the Sixteenth and the Eighteenth centuries in Great Britain. For the principles around which the political economy of trade and manufacture were organised throughout the mercantilist era, also served as a basis for the formulation of mercantilist policies of population. As Isaac (1947:14) has recorded, the mercantilist writers were greatly preoccupied with the wealth of the state, as a basis for state power. Within this frame of reference, therefore, population policy was regarded primarily as a means of increasing the export surplus of the state. The significance of the mercantilist demand for a large national population was directly related to the principal objectives of state policy throughout the period, those of national security and economic wealth.

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[1] Unless otherwise indicated, all original references from antiquarian sources throughout this section are quoted from Buck, (1942).

The demand for a large population during the period of inter-colonial mercantile rivalries between competitive European states, was also based on the need for naval and military manpower. For in an age when primitive accumulation continued to be (at least until the Eighteenth century) an important mode of production, the demand for maritime and military manpower necessarily remained at a relatively high level. The demand for a large population during this period also came at a time when the absolute population of Great Britain was much smaller than it is today. Cowan (1961:27), reports that in 1763, the total population of England and Wales was less than seven million. By the time Upper Canada was established in 1791, the population had increased to 8,750,000. An astronomical increase began after this time, and between 1811 and 1831, the population of Great Britain increased by about 3.75 million people. It is as well to recall, as does Buck (1942:89), that all the early mercantilist demands for a large national population in Great Britain were made without any accurate knowledge of the actual population of the nation; all estimates of population were the merest guesses, and demands for an accurate census did not appear until well on into the Eighteenth Century.

The most pressing arguments for a policy of large national population came from the merchants and traders with an interest in the balance of trade. Their preoccupation with the demands for a large national population was directly related to the need for low prices on manufactured export goods from Great Britain. For at a time when manufacturing remained labour intensive, the labour-process, itself, constituted almost the entire cost of production, and so the maintenance of low prices was necessarily also the maintenance of low wages for the producers. It was in the context of maintaining low production costs for competitive trade advantage, therefore, that the arguments for large populations had their greatest commercial appeal. Thus Sir Josiah Reynolds stated a generally accepted relationship between population and wage rates when observing,

> For much want of people would procure greater wages, and greater wages, if our laws gave encouragement, would procure us a supply of people without the charge of breeding them. The riches of a City, as of a Nation, consisting in the multitude of inhabitants[2]

The ideal policy to which all theoretical principles were commited, therefore, was the policy of providing an unlimited supply of productive labour at subsistence wages. The significance of 'productive' labour during this time may be seen from the numerous and harsh laws governing the treatment of vagrants and other classes of the 'idle poor', who were subject to confinement in work houses, or other forms of conscripted or forced labour. Behind all the injunctions for a large national population, most of the mercantilist writers included a demand for the strict regulation (or even reduction) of wages. "Overhauling our wages then", wrote Thomas Manley in 1669, "to maintain good eating and drinking is the capital reason that all forraigners undersell us, and ever will....."

Daniel Defoe, one of the leading Tory pamphleteers of the Eighteenth century, was even more inclined to blame adverse turns in the general balance of trade on the advancing level of wages.

> ... the advance of wages...is the support of all the insolence of servants, as their ruin'd manners is the spring of it... The Lab'ring Poor, in spite of double pay, are saucy, mutinous, and beggarly (Defoe, 1724).

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[2] (quoted in Heckscher, 1935: 158-9).

The principles of population advanced during the greater part of the mercantilist era were directed and applied to the social class of the labouring poor. It was this class that numbered the large majority of the national population, and was therefore, the primary basis for all cooperative labour and social production within the nation state. However, the period of late Mercantilism was increasingly characterised by the growth of large-scale unemployment which resulted from the enclosure, consolidation, and clearance of farm land, and the corresponding conversion of tillage to pasturage. Some writers, (c.f. Heckscher, 1935), have suggested that the existence of such heavy and periodic unemployment may be seen as inimical to the stated intent of mercantilist population doctrine, with its emphasis on the large national population and productive employment. Dobb (1963:183), succeeds in piercing the veil of ideology on this point, and his remarks are salutary for an understanding of the relationship of ideology to the economic interests of ascendent social classes.

> If one treats these views, not as related to any theory of general welfare, but as connected with class interests, one does not need to share Professor Heckscher's surprise that the writers of the time should have failed to reconcile their advocacy of an abundant population with the existence of periodic unemployment.

7. Migration and Population Discourse in the Mercantilist Era.

We turn now from the consideration of population policy in general to a concluding account of the policies and principles used throughout the mercantilist era to regulate the process of international migration. For, like the elements of a general population policy, the elements of migration policy were also derived from the general principles of mercantilist political economy.

Although the central preoccupation of mercantilist population policy continued to be the desirability of a large national population, and the corresponding undesirability of any reduction in the national population through emigration, the importance of the colonies had begun to qualify the general proscription of emigration. For as early as 1625, John Hagthorne had advocated the transfer of surplus population to the colonial plantations, where unemployed labour could be put to full productive use.

> How great a benefit it might produce in twenty to thirty years, by unburthening this land, of a million of poore people, whose labour and imployment there, might bring just as much profit to this Commonwealth, as here their idleness doth prejudice, I submit to each judicious censure (Hagthorne, 1625)

Most commentators on the subject of mercantilist population and migration policy have emphasised the unfavourable attitudes held by writers of the mercantilist era towards the mass export of population, even to the colonial territories, and so we must assume that such suggestions as that of Hagthorne, proposed at such an early date, were relatively uncommon.

Nevertheless the increasing importance of the colonies, not only as resource hinterlands, but also as consumer markets, led many writers on the political economy of international trade and commerce to acknowledge the growing contribution of colonisation to the balance of trade, and thus to the economic prosperity of Great Britain.

In his considerable writings on colonisation and international trade, Sir Josiah Reynolds articulated very clearly the costs and benefits arising from the international migration of labourers to the colonies. The export of domestic labour-power, he argued, could only be justified if the social product of colonial labour-power was subordinated to the requirements of the British economy. Therefore, the function of colonial labour-power was to produce items unobtainable in Great Britain, and to produce such items exclusively for the metropolitan market. The international division of labour between the metropolis and the colony was thus administered to conform to the provisions of the Navigation Acts and other statutes, which specified the preference and protection to which the metropolitan market was legally entitled.

> All colonies and foreign plantations do endanger their mother kingdoms whereof the trades of such plantations are not confined to their said other kingdoms by food laws and severe execution of these laws. Plantations being at first furnished and afterwards successively supplied with people from their mother kingdoms, and people bring riches, that loss of people to the mother kingdom be it more or less, is certainly an evil, except the employment of those people abroad, do cause the employment of so many more at home in their mother kingdoms, and that can never be except their trade be restrained to their mother kingdoms[3].

Sir Josiah child was also very sensitive to the consequences of international labour migration within the colonial system on the supply and productivity of labour-power. He argued that although the export of labour-power from the metropolitan economy resulted in a reduction in the size of the domestic labour force, such a reallocation could potentially increase the productivity of labour-power in the colonial economy, and thereby indirectly contribute to the growth of employment in Great Britain. However, whether the increased productivity of colonial labour-power contributed to or competed with the metropolitan economy was wholly a function of whether colonial trade was regulated in the interests of the metropolis, or whether, like New England, it was largely organised for its own economic self-interest.

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[3] (Child 1693, cited in *Furniss*, 1920: 54)

> The people who evacuate from us to the Barbados and the other West Indian plantations.....do commonly work one Englishman to ten or eight blacks; and if we kept the trade of our said plantations entirely to England, England would have no less inhabitants but rather an increase of people because of such evacuations, because of one Englishman with ten blacks that work with him, accounting what they each use and wear, would make employment for four men in England..., whereas, peradventure of ten men that issue from us to New England and Ireland, what we send to or receive from them doth not employ one man in England[4]

There was very little permanent settlement in the early colonial development of the New World. The English settlements developed in the course of the Seventeenth century owe their existence to the international migration of refugees from political or religious persecution and who left England before the Toleration Act of 1689. Thus Puritans founded the first successful settlement in New England in 1620; Dissenters settled Massachusetts in 1629, and later settled Connecticut and Rhode Island. It was the later development of the Southern colonies, however, that more directly contributed to the economic objectives of mercantilist colonial policy. The southern territories of Virginia, Maryland, and the West Indies, provided England with raw materials for her manufacture, especially cotton; with consumption goods which she would otherwise have had to import from foreign sources, especially sugar; and with goods she could export to other countries by reason of her trade monopoly in the colonies: tobacco in Virginia, rice in Georgia, and indigo in Carolina. The supply of labour required for the plantation economies in these colonies was provided from two main sources: black slave labour from West Africa, and white indentured labour and convict labour from England, Ireland and Scotland. (During the Nineteenth century, indentured labour from India was added as another supply factor to the plantation economies of the West Indies c.f. Tinker, 1974).

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[4](Child, 1693, cited in *Furniss*, 1920: 55)

Isaac (1947:17) reports that the relative number of indentured labourers in proportion to that of slave labourers was initially very high. Between 1655 and 1705, for example, about 100,000—140,000 indentured labourers were brought to Virginia. In 1671 there were about 2,000 slaves and 6,000 white servants; in 1683, there were about 3,000 slaves and 12,000 servants. Although the conditions of indenture were often only marginally above those of slavery, the period of servitude was usually limited to seven years, after which time most servants became free farmers.

During the Eighteenth century, from which time the British Conquest and colonisation of Canada originates, the number of emigrants from Great Britain to the New World increased considerably. Much of this emigration was from Scotland, where the enclosures and highland clearances created a large rural surplus population; however, many settlers also came from Ireland, where economic pressures combined with the punitive effects of the infamous Penal Code forced Catholics and Dissenters to escape starvation or imprisonment through emigration. Generally speaking, emigration was more encouraged by the governments of the Eighteenth century than by those of the previous century. Lands for settlement were granted on a larger scale to companies and individual entrepreneurs, and much of the early settlement in Canada was sponsored by these companies, or by wealthy patrons. The growing interest of the British government in international migration during this period resulted from the need to strengthen its hold on overseas possessions in the face of mounting French colonialist rivalry. The policy of migration and settlement was substantially developed, therefore, by the transportation of convicts to Australia after the

American Declaration of Independence, and by the resettlement of Loyalist communities and disbanded military formations in British North America after the American War of Independence.

The main objective of the mercantilist policies of migration, therefore, besides the limited objectives of controlled colonisation and plantation, became the prohibition of emigration and the recruitment of immigrants whose labour was likely to increase exports, or to replace imports by new home production. Numberous provisions were made by the principal European nation states, throughout the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, to encourage the settlement of productive immigrants from other European countries. Examples may be found in the inducements offered to immigrants by the governments of Spain in 1623, the Great Elector of the Palatinate in 1688, as well as Frederick the Great during the second and third decades of the Eighteenth century (c.f. Stangeland, 1904: 133-134). In many of these cases, special rights and priviledges were extended to merchants and skilled artisans by the host country; such immigrants were often exempted from taxes, given land, and other types of financial aid. The historian Tooke also records that Catherine the Great "applied millions of rubles to increase the population from without." In 1762, she published a manifesto inviting foreigners to come and settle in her dominions, and extended to them the following terms:

> "If their means be not competent to the journey, they will be furnished with money by the Russian ministers and residents at foreign courts. Exemptions from taxes for a stated time, ...five, ... ten, ... or twenty years, ...free dwelling for half year, ... these invitations and advantages have drawn a great multitude of foreigners, particularly Germans, into Russia." (c.f. Stangeland, 1904: 133-134)

The most desirable immigrants for the national economy were the skilled foreign workers who could establish new industries and stimulate new exports. Given the universal prohibition of emigration from national states throughout the mercantilist world, opportunities for the recruitment of skilled foreign workers only arose when the conditions of religious or political intolerance in any particular state proved stronger than legal or economic considerations. Thus England, Holland, and other Protestant countries competed with each other for the refugees expelled from the Catholic states. In Britain, a series of laws after 1720 prohibited the emigration of skilled workers from the country, and although of limited effectiveness these laws were not repealed until 1824 (c.f. Isaac, 1947:15). Stangeland (1904:136) provides an earlier example from the reign of Charles I, 1637 in "A proclamation against the disorderly transporting of His Majesty's subjects to the plantations within the ports of America," which enjoins

> Officers and ministers of his several ports in England, Wales and Berwick, that they do not hereafter permit or suffer any persons being subsidy men or of the value of subsidy men to imbarque themselves in any of the said ports thereof, for any of the said plantations, without licence from Her Majesty's commissionaires for Plantations."

Throughout the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries, therefore, international migration was closely regulated between nation states, and within colonial empires. The expansion of trading markets which accompanied the rise of the mercantile commercial empires, produced no spectacular increases in the volume of international migration. For in accordance with mercantilist policy the newly discovered countries were at first utilised mainly for plunder and for the establishment of trading posts. Later, when the stock of precious metals was depleted and the commodities produced by the native populations appeared insufficient, factories and plantations were established with a view to making exploitation more efficient. At this stage of colonial development, when the relations between metropolis and colony were primarily based upon commercial exploitation, the greater part of international migration was of a temporary nature, with officials, bankers, merchants or soldiers returning home to the metropolis after a term of service in the colonies. In this way, therefore, the policies of migration were made to serve the interests of the mercantilist nation state. It was, as Thomas (1973:1) suggests, a "frankly nationalist creed."

> Oversea migration could thus have to be completely controlled so that it would tend to maximize employment at home, and every effort was to be made to attract immigrants from other countries. It was a frankly nationalist creed, and its exponents saw no reason to deny that the successes of one country were at the expense of others.

The policies regulating the process of international migration to and from the dominant states of the mercantilist era were largely restricted by the limited demand for an international circulation of labour-power. For the capacity of the mercantile colonial economy to absorb labour-power was necessarily limited by the fact that mercantilism remained primarily an economy of trade and small-scale manufacture. The export of capital and the growth of foreign investment, which became distinguishing criteria for Nineteenth century imperialism, were relatively undeveloped throughout the mercantilist era. A certain amount of foreign investment occurred during this period in the form of capital sunk in the equipment and fortification of trading stations abroad and in ships, in bribes to purchase the goodwill of foreign notables, and in the plantations of the New World, but the scale of foreign investment remained small when compared to the imperialist investments of the Nineteenth century.

> Herein lay the crucial difference between the old Colonial system of the Mercantile period and the colonial system of modern Imperialism: export of capital had not then assumed any considerable dimensions and did not hold the centre of the stage.
>
> Dobb (1963:217).

In a fundamental sense, therefore, the absorbtive capacity of the labour market, and thus the mobility of the labour force, was limited under the regime of Mercantilism by the political economy of trade and manufacture. Not until the development of modern imperialism did the export of capital assume a dominant aspect in the international relations of production, and with the rise of intensive foreign investment and the export of capital, came the advent of the modern period of mass international migration.

8. The Advent of Demographic Discourse.

In their general aspect the population writings throughout much of the mercantilist era continued to emphasise the strategic and economic significance of large populations. The doctrine of large and fertile populations, notwithstanding the several exceptions to this rule, remained one of the "domain assumptions" of mercantilist population discourse. In this respect, of course, the mercantilist writers were extolling the virtues of a population-politics which extended back to the classical civilisations and beyond. Indeed, as Stangeland (1904: 120, 125) records, some European countries modelled their population legislation quite consciously on the classical Roman legal code, which had so heavily favoured the patriarchs of large families and had so heavily penalized the celibates and the childless. The historical record of population discourse throughout this era, therefore, emphasises the predominance of the pro-natalist perspective, a perspective which serves to provide the discourse with a distinctive conceptual unity.

> Let us turn over the dusty and numberless volumes in which the chaos of European legislation is comprised, and we shall find no one government that has not reserved some prerogative for the fathers of families; that has not granted privileges and exemptions to those citizens who have given a certain number of children to the state; that has not provided some express laws to increase the number of marriages.

As we have also seen, however, much of the literature on population throughout the mercantilist period was more centrally concerned with the economic issues of trade and manufacture, and with the political issues of sovereignty and colonisation. In this sense, population doctrine remained inextricably wedded to the political and economic values of Mercantilism, which were expressed as much in the practical policies of the age as much as they were in statements of theoretical principle.

For this reason, much of the population literature throughout this period continues to appear somewhat peripheral to the more established fields of politico-economic discourse. Population questions were not, for the most part, defined as independent topics in their own right but as aspects of the larger area of discourse covering the political-economy of trade, manufacture and colonial policy. The embededness of population topics in the larger discourse of political economy throughout the Sixteenth, Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries, therefore, stamped the discourse of population with the prevailing style of argumentation which characterised much of the politico-economic writings of the period. There was, throughout, an abundance of biblical references and classical allusions and in many cases, the use of rhetorical devices often served to emphasise the polemical quality of much that was written in the discourse of political economy. To modern observers, the population discourse of the mercantilist era invariably appears as the discourse of a less enlightened age. The admixture of historical and literary references alongside statements of theoretical principles is interpreted today as an indication of the relative immaturity of pre-modern forms of population discourse, and of their peculiar vulnerability to a variety of ideological and other non-scientific sources of bias. Thus, in his discussion of earlier forms of population discourse to be found in the theoretical era, Bonar (1966:18) has this to say:

> Their style of writing is not what we expect now from anyone dealing with a scientific subject. They are fond of filling folios and quartos. Many of them in the Seventeenth century seem to have no medium between the very short aphorism, which is a conclusion without a reason, and the long oration, which may be equally dogmatic. Length is not logic, any more than brevity; it is quality and cogency that matter. They seem to us to spend much time over the oldest theories and histories of population; for example, those of the Book of Genesis, where man is pictured as having the world all before him, the possibilities of the globe still underdeveloped, the whole earth his America. In political philosophy we have too much of Greek and Roman examples, Greek and Roman institutions; and the Israelites are frequently in the foreground.

Throughout most of the mercantilist era, therefore, population discourse remained embedded in the discourse of political economy. It is this fact which accounts for the prevailing theoretical assumptions of mercantilist population discourse which continued to emphasise the values of a large population for such national goals as balanced trade and colonisation. And it is this fact which also accounts for the somewhat speculative and essayistic style of mercantilist population discourse, a feature which it shared with most fields of scholarly writing during this period. At the same time, however, it was during the era of mercantilism that an important transformation took place in the literature of population, which laid the foundations for an autonomous field of population discourse, and which gave birth to the modern science of demography.

It may well be argued on this account that any study of the origins of migration discourse should properly begin with some reference to the historical advent of demography as an autonomous field of discourse, for it is only within the field of demography that the concept of "migration" first emerges as a theoretical object, and as a specialised area of study. By "theoretical object" we have in mind an object whose meaning is determined not by the everyday rules of ordinary language but by the rules governing the use of terms and concepts within a specialised field of discourse. With the advent of demographic discourse, the meaning of the concept of "migration" becomes defined as an element within a larger semantic structure, one which is both more formalised and more specialised than ordinary language discourse. Given the importance of demographic discourse for later migration research, we turn now to a brief review of the origins of demography as an autonomous field of discourse, and to the discursive practices which underlay it.

9. Political Arithmetic and the Origins of Population Statistics.

In retrospect, the transformation of population discourse in the mid Seventeenth century which was brought about in large part by the introduction of more methodical procedures for the counting, classification and measurement of population processes has been viewed by many modern observers as nothing short of a "scientific revolution" in the study of population. And although it is difficult to document the emergence of a "new paradigm" of population discourse, at least in the Kuhnian sense of a common theoretical framework or explanatory model, it is none-the-less clear that the introduction of new actuarial procedures during this period laid the foundations for the formal structure of demography, as a distinctive discipline, and provided population discourse with a new language of observation.

Today, it is generally acknowledged that the origins of modern demography and, indeed, of modern statistics, date from the works of John Graunt (1620-1674), one of the earliest writers to examine population procedures by means of systematic observation procedures. In 1662, Graunt published an account of his analysis of the Bills of mortality for the city of London, a record of the number of deaths resulting from the Plague of 1592. Through a meticulous study of the available population data on births and deaths for the year 1604 to 1661, which were taken from the records of burial permits and christenings for the city of London and surrounding districts, Graunt was able to report his findings with a degree of exactitude hitherto unknown in the discourse on population. His "Observations" were reduced into tables

> . . . so as to have a view of the whole together, in order to the more ready comparing of one *Year*, *Season*, *Parish*, or other *Division* of the city, with another, in respect of all the *Burials*, and *Christenings*, and of all the *Districts*, and *Casualties* happening in each of them respectively; I did then begin, not only to examine the conceits, opinions and conjectures, which upon view of a few scattered *Bills* I had taken up; but did also admit new ones as I found reason, and occasion from my tables. (Willcox, 1939: 17-18)

From his detailed breakdown of the records of births and deaths collected during this period, Graunt was able to show that death, itself, was an orderly event; and that many other aspects of population process were similarly characterised by patterns of regularity. From these beginnings, it was not long before Graunt succeeded in formulating a body of demographic generalisations derived from his tabulated data on births and deaths. Among his more general observations, Graunt concluded that there was a considerable amount of rural-urban migration, that younger cohorts of "breeders" showed a greater tendency to migrate than did older cohorts; and that fertility rates were higher in rural than in urban districts. These observations and others were used by Graunt to challenge what he considered to be the extravagant and unwarranted claims of some, that the population of the city of London, generally reduced as it was by the plague of 1592, was in grave danger of becoming under-populated.

Against these claims, Graunt was able to show that the population increases of large cities were primarily due to in-migration, rather than to natural replacement; and that the fertility rate of "breeders" migrating into the city was likely to be higher than for that of the settled population. Graunt also sought to correct what he considered to be other misconceptions about population changes by showing, for example, that contrary to popular belief, very few people appeared to die of starvation; that population lost in the war was readily replaced through natural increase; and that population lost to the city through the Plague was readily replaced through in-migration from rural areas.

Graunt thus saw his work as a corrective to the everyday illusory notions about population, and in dedicating his *Observations* to the President of the Royal Society, Sir Robert Moray, he lost no opportunity to confront the prejudices of his times with the well documented evidence of his own methodical observations.

> For with all humble submission to your Lordship I conceive that it doth not ill become a peer of the Parliament or member of His Majesty's Council to consider how few starve of the many that beg,—that the irreligious proposals of some to multiply people by polygamy are withal irrational and fruitless—that the greatest plagues of the city are equally and quickly repaired from the country—that the wasting of males by wars and colonies do not prejudice the due proportion between them and females—that London, the Metropolis of England, is

perhaps a head too big for the body, and possibly too strong.[1]

With Graunt's work, the study of population became constituted as an autonomous field of discourse. Whereas previously, references to population issues had remained dispersed within the broader fields of political economy, the advent of demographic discourse—with its systematic observations reports, and its methodical construction of demographic "facts"—prepared the way for the independent study of population. As Bonar (1966: 78) astutely observes,

> We are no longer in the region of scattered hints. There is a concentration of study on subjects that are the main subjects of demography now.

It was, therefore, the new numerical precision that Graunt brought to the study of population which effectively revolutionised the discourse of population. Unlike the earlier writers, most of whom had discussed population issues largely as an extention of the general principles of political-economic doctrine, Graunt began his own investigation with a careful review of the written records of births and deaths. It was through the methodical organisation of these records that Graunt was first able to calculate tentative morality rates for the city of London over the documented period, and on the basis of these data to offer some general observations on the process of population change.

In a limited sense, therefore, Graunt's approach to the study of population exemplified what Weber (1948) was later to call the spirit of "rational capital accounting". The exact mathematical calculations that Graunt was able to perform on his tabulated population data provide an early example of the rational organisation of knowledge which, according to Weber, signalled the advent of the modern capitalist system.

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[1] (c.f. Bonar, 1966: 74).

By introducing an arithmorphic structure into his population studies, Graunt paved the way for the inevitable transformation of population discourse, from a traditional to a modern form. The birth of mathematical population studies saw the beginning of the slow demise of traditional population writings, with their emphasis on speculative theory and debates over doctrine; and in their place a new science of population came into existence which based its accounts only on those observation reports which could be measured, and to which numerical values could be assigned. This, in a word, is what came to characterise the new discourse of demography.

The discursive practices which underlay the new field of demographic discourse testify to the vital role that documentary records came to play in the institutional life of the British polity from the late Seventeenth century onwards. They signalled the historical rise of the bureaucratic organisation which, as Weber (1948) has shown, depended upon the use of written documents for the production of standardised and comparable forms of information which would permit exact calculations. As a field of discourse largely constructed from written records, therefore, demographic discourse became a form of knowledge ideally suited to the bureaucratic organisation (Shaw and Miles, 1979:34).

It is thus no accident that demographic discourse, in conjunction with the early disciplines of statistics and political arithmetic, emerged during the period of increased bureaucratisation of public agencies; the more rigorous forms of knowledge made possible through the systematic procedures of counting and classification proved essential to the administration of a wide range of social control agencies.

> Customs duties, income from which doubled in England between 1650 and 1688, were centralized in 1671; in 1695 the first official statistical department was set up, involving the Inspector General of Imports and Exports who was placed in charge of data concerning the quantities and money values of trade. Previously, only occasional calculations of the volume of trade had been made; now continuous statistical series were set up (Shaw and Miles, 1979:31).

Following from the work of Graunt, several other writers of the late Seventeenth century also contributed to the development of the early disciplines of demography and political arithmetic. One of these was Edmund Halley (1656-1742), the distinguished astronomer and discoverer of Halley's comet, who was later to become Astronomer Royal.

Halley was responsible for constructing the first complete set of life tables for a selected population which he constructed from data obtained from the city of Breslau. Besides summarising the birth and death records of the city, these tables also included a record of the ages of the deceased, information which had not been available to John Graunt in his inquiries. As a result of this new set of data, Halley was able, for the first time, to calculate "life-expectancy" estimates for his population, which he later proposed to project for the city of London.

Again, it is interesting to note that the interests underlying Halley's construction of the life-tables were eminently practical in nature. During the middle of the Seventeenth century, there arose in England a large number of life-insurance companies which were organised on the principle of mutual liability—but without regard to the age of the insured party. By calculating life-expectancy data for the different ages- of the insured, Halley hoped to be able to calculate a differential scale of premium payments for the purchase of life-annuities which would take into account the life-expectancy of the insured party.

In 1693, Halley presented these proposals to the Royal Society in a paper entitled,

> *An Estimate of the Degrees of the Mortality of Mankind drawn from curious Tables of the Births and Funerals at the City of Breslau with an attempt to ascertain the Price of Annuities upon lives."*

The discovery of the life-tables, which provided the discourse of demography with a more rigourous actuarial structure than it had hitherto enjoyed, came about largely in response to the accounting needs of the insurance companies of the Seventeenth century. In a more general sense, however, this particular historical example is typical of the ways in which large public bureaucracies have continued to promote as well as consume the products of demographic discourse. On the one hand, such bureaucracies have frequently been the source of much demographic data—where the methodical collection and documentation of public records has constituted a valuable resource for students of population. On the other hand, public bureaucracies have also constituted an effective market for the products of demographic research, particularly where these findings have been capable of translation into policies which have increased the economic efficiency, or have expanded the scope of social control, of large organisations. It is in this sense, therefore, that demographic discourse, in particular, and statistical knowledge in general, may be said to have evolved in close conjunction with the discursive practices of public agencies.

Another writer who also proved instrumental in helping to bring about a revolution in the structure of politico-economic discourse in the Seventeenth century, through the introduction of more rigorous procedures of counting and classification, was Sir William Petty (1623-1687).

Petty is generally credited with being the father of the early science of "Political Arithmetic", a discipline which made use of data that would now be classified as demographic and economic statistics. In common with most other mercantilist writers of his day, Petty believed that a large population constituted the real source of all national wealth. Much of his own work, therefore, was designed to draw attention to the need for more accurate estimates of national populations which, he argued were necessary for the efficient administration of the nation-state. Thus in his *Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, (1662), Petty illustrated how accurate national population data were necessary in order to calculate the levels of expenditure required for poor relief, as well as to devise an efficient system of taxation. Petty also applied his statistical methods to the political affairs of the state, arguing for example, that England was a potentially stronger sea-power than France, and that London was wealthier than Paris (c.f. Shaw and Miles, 1979:31).

The disciplines of political arithmetic and demography, therefore, both of which grew out of the latter part of the Seventeenth century, together testify to the existence of an *epistemological break* which brought about a profound transformation in the structure of population discourse. This transformation was achieved in part by the development of systematic procedures for the classification and documentation of public records, and through the introduction of more rigorous accounting procedures which let to the specialisation of the statistical sciences. As Shaw and Miles (1979.:31) record, however, "political arithmetic" in England, did not become known as "statistics" until the late Eighteenth century, when the word was borrowed from the German *Statistik*, or "state-istics". In Germany, the discipline of statistics had traditionally contrasted sharply with the English discipline of political arithmetic. Whereas the German work was designed to provide a systematisation of knowledge, for the static and comparative analysis of nation-states, political arithmetic in England was more concerned with analysing past and present changes, with dynamic processes and causal regularities.

It is against this historical background that the genesis and development of a specialised migration discourse has to be understood. Until the advent of a formalised structure of demographic discourse in the Seventeenth century, references to population and migration were to be found scattered among the traditional discourses of the pre-modern period. As we have seen, issues of population have, at various times, fallen peripherally into the discourse of philosophers, statesmen, political economists and moralists, to name but a few. It is only with the development of an autonomous field of population discourse brought about by the increased formalisation of observation reports, and by the introduction of arithmorphic measures of counting and classification, that the topic of migration begins to acquire the status of a theoretical object. It is only from this point that we can begin to see any evidence of discursive elements converging around the topic of migration, and imparting to it the structure of a unified field of discourse.

This genealogical perspective on the genesis and development of population discourse has been very well summarised by Bonar (1966:124-25). In his brief description of the historical rise of demography he has, perhaps, uncovered the basic rules governing the formation of this particular field of discourse.

But the apparatus of the demographer on working days, like the apparatus of the medieval man, is prosaic and intellectual. We can hardly think of the study of vital statistics without its large array of indispensable tools. The tools have grown with the work. The first of them was the human language, without which all our thoughts would be beyond the reaches or at least the grasp of our own souls, and beyond even the reaches of other souls other than our own.

Then we need an arithmetic that goes beyond the fingers. We must have a census, and we must have a registration of births, marriages and deaths; we must have a life-table and some sort of doctrine of probabilities. At the beginning of our seventeenth century there was a mere endeavour after *some* of these. The end of the century saw the need of *all* acknowledged, and it saw some of them accomplished.

CHAPTER 4. ON THE DELIMITATION OF MIGRATION DISCOURSE.

1. Delimiting the Field of Migration.

2. Defining the Concept of Migration.

3. Classifying the Concept of Migration.

4. The Historical Typology.

5. The Empirical Typology.

1. Delimiting the Field of Migration.

In the most general terms, following Michel Foucault, we shall define a field of discourse as the totality of statements, both written and spoken, which have been produced in relation to a given subject area. Thus, in his study of the changing discourse of madness during the past three centuries, Foucault has drawn upon a wide range of documentary sources in order to illuminate (what he regards as) the crucial transformations which have characterised the historical development of this field of discourse. In this respect, however, Foucault's use of historical evidence could be said to be relatively unsystematic. Instead of proceeding to analyze the historiography of madness through a consistent set of historical data, he appears to move from one set of historical evidence to the next, in search of themes supportive of his basic thesis—that the modern discourse of madness originated with the social practice of confinement. This, somewhat eclectic approach to the selection of historical evidence has been noted by a number of recent commentators, and has been raised as a basic methodological criticism of Foucault's work (c.f. Stone, 1982; Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982).

In the case of migration discourse, any structuralist definition which defines the field of discourse as "the totality of statements produced about migration", provides a definition only in the most general sense. Such a definition does little more than identify the logically possible limits of a field of discourse, but gives no indication of the range of conceptualisations which underly working definitions used in the actual practice of migration research.

For many writers, the process of definition characterising particular academic disciplines, especially scientific disciplines, has traditionally been viewed as one indication of the general stage of development and level of conceptual organisation of the field of discourse. Thus, Zetterberg (1965), Lachenmeyer (1971), and others have argued that the use of fully axiomatised definitions tends to characterise the mature natural sciences, where phenomena are typically defined in terms of a closed set of object predicates which correspond directly to an observable set of object referents. For Logical Empiricists, Neo-positivists and others, therefore, the degree of formalisation and logical rigour exhibited in the process of definition has traditionally remained one of the primary methodological criteria distinguishing the natural from the social sciences. In the view of these writers, the methodological reform of such 'soft' sciences as Sociology must necessarily begin with the logical reconstruction of the languages of theory and observation; an undertaking which is ultimately rooted in the process of definition.

The availability of a standardised set of technical definitions, characteristic of the mature natural sciences, presupposes a wide measure of consensus among relevant scientific communities. In order for such definitions to have an application over an entire disciplinary area, it is necessary for the scientific community to have evolved a common language of observation to which all definitions may ultimately be reduced. A necessary condition for the construction and application of universal definitions for any field of discourse, therefore, would appear to be the evolution of what (after Kuhn) could, perhaps, be termed a 'paradigm' language of observation. Without such community agreement over the terms in which the data, or observation language, of science is constituted, there can be no set of standardised or universal definitions. Under these conditions, a field of discourse invariably remains relatively fragmented and non-paradigmatic, and the range of prevailing definitions used in the field will correspond to the number of different observation languages which may co-exist, or actively compete with each other within a single disciplinary area.

In contrast to the mature natural sciences, therefore, many of which appear to have evolved to the paradigmatic stage of observation-language construction (and sometimes beyond[1]), many of the social sciences have remained characterised by a plurality of observation and theory languages, a condition which has been variously described as 'pre-paradigmatic', 'polyparadigmatic', etc. (c.f. Masterman, 1970, Lammers, 1974).

Under these conditions, it is unusual to encounter many examples of technical definitions which enjoy a universal currency accross a disciplinary discourse, especially in the social sciences, where academic communities are frequently divided and polarised over different data language formulations, and over different sets of criteria which may be invoked for the identification and description of relevant subject matter.

In this respect, the discourse of migration does not differ essentially from other fields of social scientific discourse, especially from Sociology, to which it remains closely allied. The variety of methodological approaches, and the range of conceptual frameworks which have been employed in studying the phenomenon of migration have, until now, militated against the emergence of a paradigmatic structure within the field of discourse. Migration discourse, therefore, continues to exhibit a theoretical and methodological pluralism which has resisted the emergence of a single, that is, paradigmatic data language, and which has also retarded the formulation of universally acceptable definitions of the academic subject domain.

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[1] Some recent writers, e.g. Toulmin (1982) have drawn attention to the fact that the "mature" natural sciences have moved beyond the "stage" of single paradigm disciplines to a state in which several alternative and sometimes conflicting conceptual frameworks are simultaneously accomodated.

This is, perhaps, all the more surprising given the apparently uncomplicated character of the subject matter of migration discourse which is centred on the phenomenon of geographical movement. However, the impact of different disciplinary research traditions—demographic, economic, historical, geographic, sociological, socio-psychological, legal, etc.—as well as the different theoretical, epistemological and conceptual traditions which have, at various times, influenced migration research have together combined to invest the field of migration discourse with a polycentric structure that has rendered it inimical to paradigmatisation, (at least, in the Kuhnian sense of the term). Instead, the contemporary structure of migration discourse is presently characterised by a number of sub-sets of discourse, most of which have evolved their own languages of observation and theory. There is, of course, considerable overlap between these respective traditions of theory and research but the range of variation evident in general definitions of the subject domain remains one indication of the underlying differences which continue to fragment the structure of migration discourse.

The remainder of this chapter will be given up to a brief review of some of the attempts that have been made to delimit the field of migration discourse, both through the processes of definition and classification. The intention of this review is to present further evidence of the polycentric and pluralistic structure of migration discourse, and to identify some of the underlying divisions which presently characterise the field. The conclusion of this chapter thus serves as an introduction to the present state of theoretical, methodological, and epistemological pluralism in the field of discourse, prior to a more detailed examination of some of these issues in the following chapter of this study.

2. Defining the Concept of Migration.

One of the first paradoxes confronting anyone surveying the contemporary research literature of migration is the wide diversity of definitions which have been used in different studies of migration. In some ways, such an absence of consensus over defining a term like "migration", may appear somewhat surprising until it is recognised that the term, itself, is far from unproblematic and is susceptible to the same vagueness and ambiguity which surrounds many other key terms in the discourse of the social sciences.

Most definitions of the term, "migration", have necessarily included some reference to the concept of "permanent movement"; there has been, however, less than general agreement over what further elements should be included in any necessary and sufficient definition of this term. In this respect, the contemporary research literature has so far failed to provide any universal or standardised definition of the term which finds a general application accross the present field of discourse. Indeed, it is possible to discern in the subtle distinctions separating current definitions of the term "migration", the outline of different approaches to the theory and methodological practice of migration research.

From an initial review of the range of definitions available in the research literature of migration, one could, perhaps, be forgiven for concluding that most definitions of the term, "migration", have been largely idiosyncratic in origin, deriving from the particular interests that each researcher has brought to bear upon his investigations. However, a more attentive reading of these definitions reveals that this is probably not the case, and that there exists an underlying pattern to the apparent diversity of definition and conceptualisation of the term, "migration."

Although most definitions of the term, "migration", have tended to cluster around some conception of "permanent movement" toward or away from a specified location, these definitions have varied widely in their degrees of complexity and comprehensiveness. Such a diversity of conceptualisation may be taken to reflect the presence of distinctive conceptual schema which underly the formulation of different operational definitions, and which often entail the use of radically contrasting data languages, as languages of observation and empirical research.

In general terms, it would appear that most definitions of the concept of "migration" currently represented in the research literature may be broken down into those definitions which include some reference to the *volitional,* or decision-making aspects of the migration process, and those which do not. Definitions which fail to include any reference to volitional elements in their formulations have tended to emphasize the strictly *spatial* aspects of migration, the transfer of individuals through geographic space from one point to another.

This is, perhaps, the most fundamental distinction to be found in the broad range of definitions available in contemporary migration discourse. Definitions of migration may also be distinguished in terms of further refinements and qualifications, such as the inclusion of socio-cultural and socio-psychological criteria, but the main point of departure for most definitions within the field of migration discourse remains the distinction between volitional and non-volitional formulations.

The early prevalence of non-volitional definitions of migration which focused exclusively on the spatial and locational elements of the migration process—the mechanical movement of individuals through physical space from one location to another—may be explained in terms of the particular type of demographic discourse in which these definitions have functioned.

The conception of human migration, viewed simply as the physical transfer of individuals through space, has tended to dominate those traditions of research which have been based largely on the analysis of published government records, especially census data. By accepting the categories and classifications built into the data languages of government censuses and similar public records, much migration research has remained limited by the presuppositions which have tended to motivate the collection of information by bureaucratic public agencies. For without oversimplifying the matter too greatly, it may be suggested that the main preoccupation behind the collection and accumulation of data through such instruments as the public census, has been the counting and classification of persons for administrative purposes. Migration research based upon the technocratic discursive practices of government censuses, therefore, has invariably focused upon the more quantifiable aspects of migration - those aspects having the greatest implications for the counting, classification and administrative control of populations—while neglecting other, equally important aspects of human migration. The discourse of migration generated from the technocratic practices of bureaucratic agencies has thus evolved into a largely actuarial form of discourse in which theoretical developments have played a relatively insignificant part. Similarly, more complex conceptualisations of migration entailing recognition of cultural, psychological, and structural determinants have, until recently, also been absent from the technocratic discourse of census data research.

The apparent simplicity of many definitions found in the discourse of migration may thus be traced to their function within the dominant demographic traditions of migration research. Within this tradition, such definitions have often functioned to reduce the manifold complexity of the social phenomenon of migration into measurable and readily quantifiable concepts which have corresponded to the eminently practical needs of the technocratic research enterprise. Indeed, it has also been more generally observed that many of the definitional categories which have evolved in the recent discourse of migration owe their genesis and development to the discursive practices of powerful administrative organisations. The apparent 'crispness' and parsimony of these technical definitions is frequently a direct reflection of the 'single-mindedness' underlying the research priorities of government agencies—a single-mindedness which has often eschewed a fuller and more rounded understanding of migration, in the interests of producing accurate registration statistics.

Tilly (1978:49) has further commented upon the simplistic, one-dimensional quality of the technical definitions employed in migration discourse and has also related the rise of such definitions to the administrative interests which have often accompanied research in this field. The simple-mindedness of many of these definitions derives in large part from the technocratic assumptions upon which they have been based.

> From the continuous locomotion of human beings, to pick out some moves as more definitive than others reflects the concern of bureaucrats to attach people to domiciles where they can be registered, enummerated taxed, drafted and watched. A vagrant—a person without domicile—gives trouble not only to the police but also to definitions of migration. Are gypsies migrants? The crisp definition and statistics essential to an answer emerged with the consolidation of nation states and state bureacracies.

In this respect, the concept of "migration", as it has been defined in demographic discourse, originated along with many other social scientific concepts through the discursive practices of powerful bureaucratic organisations. Such concepts as "employment", "unemployment", "production", "consumption", as well as "marriage" and "legitimacy", were initially designed for the ennumeration and registration of relevant segments of the population, and were only later rationalised by economists, demographers and others, as working academic definitions. These concepts have, therefore, traditionally been defined according to arithmorphic criteria—criteria for which numerical values could easily be assigned—as these criteria have always proven most amenable to statistical computations.

In an authoritative survey of the field of migration discourse, Mangalam (1968) as we have already noted in Chapter 2, concluded that the great majority of working definitions of the concept of "migration" have been based on some combination of the following restricted criteria:

1. Migration is seen as a physical movement of people through space.
2. More or less permanent change of residence is pre-requisite to considering this movement as migration.

3. Migration is primarily seen as an individual activity.

In many instances of its definition, the concept of "migration" has been reduced to little more than the physical movement of human objects in space. Stouffer (1940:845) for example, appears to have conceived of migration in essentially these terms:

> The movement of people in space is a basic subject of sociological inquiry

Such physicalistic conceptions of the migration process have been far from uncommon in the literature; in fact, they are representative of the relatively limited theoretical scope of much traditional migration research. Much of this research has remained preoccupied with the physical and spatial dimensions of the migration process: the numerical volume, the distance, direction and duration of movement, and the biological composition (age, sex, race) of migrant flows. These acturial biases of the demographic literature, as previously suggested, have been developed in response to an effective institutional demand for migration research, which has come primarily from large policy-making and implementing bureaucracies, whether from national or international government bodies, or from other administrative agencies. The preoccupation of much migration research with the counting and classification of migrant populations has thus conditioned its growth as a technical discourse linked systematically to the discursive practices of population administration. These technocratic imperatives which have continued to inform the content of much contemporary migration discourse are often tacitly revealed in the peculiarly limited conception of migration offered in many operationalised definitions of the term.

Further examples of the traditional tendency of migration researchers to reduce their conceptualisations of the migration process to a two-dimensional plane of space and time are readily apparent. Thus Wrong (1961:83) has offered a characteristically one-dimensional definition:

> The term migration is commonly used generically...to designate more or less permanent changes of residence.

Similarly, further definitions provided by Eisenstadt (1954:1) and Saunders (1956:221) also illustrate how the phenomenon of migration can be reduced to its least complex and lowest common (quantifiable) denominator.

> We define migration as the physical transition of an individual or a group from one society to another.

and,

> Human migration refers to those spatial movements whereby people individually or collectively, change their place of abode.

Such definitions of the concept of "migration" remain largely devoid of any social or cultural context. They are rather designed to reduce the potential complexity of the concept of "human migration" to its most directly measurable dimensions: the physical movement and relocation of human atoms in space. The development of more complex and theoretical conceptualisations of migration has thus been greatly impeded by the limitations which have characterised both observation and theory languages in migration (and other fields of demographic) discourse.

The simplified and one-dimensional definitions of migration to be found in much of the traditional research literature can thus be attributed in part to the institutional origins of these formulations. The discourse which has emerged from the administrative practices of bureaucratic research agencies has tended to emphasise the development of arithmorphic definitions and concepts at the expense of more theoretical formulations. A further consequence of the widespread use of simple spatial or locational definitions has been the proliferation of descriptive studies in the literature of migration research, and a corresponding underdevelopment of theoretical studies. Descriptive studies in the discourse of migration, whether undertaken through survey research or through the use of census data, have typically remained isolated accounts of particular populations which have, until recently, rarely been comparative in methodology or cross-cultural in theoretical orientation.

The state of research in much of the discourse of migration is thus similar to the condition once described by C. Wright Mills as that of "abstracted empiricism", which he characterised as the accumulation of descriptive facts and detailed observation reports—without any attempts to provide an integrating theoretical framework. Interestingly enough, Mills also drew attention to the bureaucratic contexts in which such a-theoretical and a-historical research found its origins and *modus operandi* (c.f. Mills, 1959: 80-84).

The difficulties of constructing theoretical generalisations in migration discourse on the basis of definitions and conceptualisations which refer to purely spatial and locational criteria have been recognised by an increasing number of commentators, of late. Thus Bouvier *et al.* (1977:34) in a recent paper have also drawn attention to the relative underdevelopment of systematic theory in the research literature of migration, an underdevelopment which has been brought about, in their view, by an overemphasis on descriptive and empirical modes of research.

> But the mere ennumeration of empirical findings are less than useful in the setting of contributions to increase knowledge about migration differentials in general. It is preferable to have some generalisation rejected and a possible theoretical frame-work developed than to succeed in completing an empirically valid description of an isolated occurrence in a small part of the world—or description that is beyond contradiction but empty of any possible abstractions. Only when such studies are analyzed on a broad conceptual framework—cross-culturally and over time—do they contribute to the development of broader conclusions and, eventually, theories.

The criticisms of these and other writers would appear to offer some support for a general conclusion of this chapter, that in much of the traditionally demographic discourse of migration, the entrenchment of physicalistic data-languages has effectively prevented the growth of generalising theoretical frameworks and has, at the same time, functioned to reduce the historical and cultural complexity of the phenomenon of migration into oversimplified formulations which have only the dubious advantage of being readily quantifiable.

But in order to achieve the logically precise and mathematically quantifiable observation language characteristic of demographic traditions of migration research, even the descriptive functions of language have had to pay a heavy price. For in the numeral data languages in which much of the research literature of migration has been formulated, the process of migration—and indeed, the migrant actors, themselves,—are almost invariably described by languages in which reference to the social goals or purposes of migration are conspicuously absent.

The reduction of the migration phenomenon to a physicalistic data-language, therefore, entails a radical de-humanisation of the content of migration discourse. Population movements between different spatial locations have frequently been formulated in terms analagous to the movement of inanimate objects within the context of physical fields, whether these are seen as electromagnetic, gravitational, or other types of force fields. To this extent, the data languages of migration discourse have tended to formulate descriptions which have exaggerated the mechanistic and deterministic elements of human migrations, while simultaneously minimising the decisional and volitional aspects of the migration process. In a somewhat paradoxical sense, therefore, while the physicalistic data languages of migration discourse have proven inimical to the development of systematic theory they have, at the same time, continued to project a strongly analogical interpretation of the migration process.

The view of migration as a mechanical process operating within the limits of a deterministic system owes much to analagous models in the natural sciences. It further demonstrates, however, the close interrelationship existing between languages of theory and observation in academic discourses, a point which is now widely recognised by recent philosophers of science. The function of physicalistic definitions in migration discourse, therefore, has been to reinforce the mechanistic model of migration, and to provide a data language into which these concepts are readily operationalised and quantified. The translation and reduction of migration concepts into the physicalistic metaphors of demographic data languages has also been noted by Abu-Lughod (1975:201) who has commented incisively upon its implications for the discourse of migration.

> Whether described in terms of a mathematical 'gravity-flow' model on the geographical level, in terms of a 'push-pull' model on the economic level, or in terms of a psychic cost 'adaptation' model on the social psychological level, the resulting picture was reassuringly simple. Human beings, like iron fillings, were impelled by forces beyond their conscious control and, like atoms stripped of their cultural and temporal diversity, were denied the creative capacity to innovate and shape the worlds from which and into which they moved.

The limitations of purely physical definitions of migration, however, have become increasingly apparent to more recent students of the area, and many current definitions of the migration process have managed to partially transcend the restricted spatial criteria of earlier formulations. In this respect, earlier and more mechanistic conceptualisations have tended to give way to definitions which more adequately certify the volitional and semiotic aspects of the migration process. Migration is now more likely to be viewed as a meaningful decision-making process motivated within a particular hierarchy of social values.

This understanding of migration is implicit in the type of definition offered by Brinley Thomas (1959:510) (1968:292), for example, in which he quite deliberately expands his conceptualisation to include the hitherto neglected elements of decision and purpose.

> Migration is defined in this chapter as the movement (involving change of permanent residence) from one country to another which takes place through the volition of the individuals or families concerned.

or again,

> ...a permanent movement of people, of their own free will, from one sovereign country to another.

The enlargement of the range of criteria which have been used to define the field of migration indicates a general diversification of research traditions underlying contemporary migration discourse. Whereas previously, demographers enjoyed a virtual monopoly of interest over the domain of migration research, today migration has also become the province of many other social scientists. Such a diversification of disciplinary interests in the topic of migration has necessarily been reflected in the growing polycentricity of migration discourse. Demographic and economic concepts no longer constitute the only available source of data language for migration research, other disciplines have also contributed observation terms from their own data languages and have, thereby, considerably enlarged the semantic field of migration discourse. References to such concepts as "decision-making", "social and cultural interaction", "psychological drives" within recent definitions of the migration process may be seen as a general indication of the developing state of theoretical and methodological pluralism in the literature of migration research.

The move away from purely spatial and physical definitions was noted as early as twenty years ago by Beijer (1963:316) who drew attention to a perceptible shift in the content of migration research data.

> Attention is turning more and more from the use of basic statistical data to the phenomenon of migration, to the impact of the well-being of individuals, families, and social groups caused by man's changed environment—in short, to the situation of normal adjustment.

Similarly, other writers, before and after, have continued to emlphasise the psychological and socio-cultural aspects of migration and have advanced formulations which have often gone well beyond the mechanistic definitions of the early social demographers. Thus Taft and Robbins (1955:5-6), in an early account of some of the determinants of international migration, emphasised the significance of psychological variables.

> Like all human behaviour, (migration) is rooted subjectively in psychological drives; objectively in conditions which stimulate these drives.

More recently, in a paper on the determinants of emigration from the Netherlands, Ellemers (1964:55) has also suggested the application of psychological concepts to the study of migration phenomena. There is, therefore, abundant evidence to show that psychological studies of migration have proliferated throughout the past several decades and have now come to represent a major tradition in the field of migration research.

> ...in the further study of migration processes analyses in terms of reference group theories or of theories on cognitive dissonance may be expected to yield especially interesting results.

In much the same way, there has been an increased tendency among sociologists and anthropologists contributing to the discourse of migration to focus more centrally on the role played by the socio-cultural environment in the process of migration. Once the migration process becomes defined in terms of a meaningful form of social action, the significant parameters of explanation change from the physical boundaries of space and time to the socio-cultural boundaries of goals and values. The importance of socio-cultural systems for an understanding and an explanation of migration has been recognized by various writers, of whom Ellemers (1964:43) is but one example.

> We shall interpret migration to mean a more or less permanent transition from one socio-cultural environment to another, essentially different, socio-cultural environment situated at such a distance that more than incidental contact with the original environment is physically impossible.

Perhaps one of the most exhaustive surveys of the varieties of definition used in migration discourse was that undertaken by Mangalam and Schwarzweller in 1970, and previously mentioned in Chapter 2. On the basis of a major review of the elements traditionally contained in definitions of migration, these authors proposed an elaborate definition which, in their view, had the advantages of being both comprehensive and systematic. From a sample of earlier definitions Mangalam and Schwarzweller abstracted what they considered to be the most important criteria of methodological rigour and theoretical adequacy.

In addition to the traditional criteria of:

1. physical movement of people
2. permanent relocation

Mangalam and Schwarzweller also included criteria representative of such other elements of the migration process as:

3. migrant populations are generally part of a *collectivity* rather than classes of random individuals.
4. migration is a decision-making process motivated by an hierachically ordered set of *values*, rather than an involuntary or mechanistically determined population movement.
5. migration also entails a change in the interactional system of the migrants, as well as their spatial relocation.

Mangalam and Schwarzweller (1970:8) synthesised these operational criteria into a single comprehensive definition of migration which, they suggested, avoids the theoretical and methodological limitations of earlier formulations. This formulation remains, perhaps, one of the most detailed and thorough definitions in the literature of migration research.

> Migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierachically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants.

Mangalam and Schwarzweller have offered what they refer to as a "structural functionalist" definition of migration, which is designed to simultaneously take into account the psychological, social and cultural elements of the migration process. By drawing upon this sociological tradition, these writers propose to offer the fragmented literature of migration research an integrating conceptual framework and a theoretical orientation with which to guide the direction of future research.

In many ways, the programme advocated by Mangalam and Schwarzweller constitutes one of the more ambitious proposals for the theoretical reconstruction and systematisation of migration discourse. However, their failure to effect the adoption of the structural-functionalist model as a general framework for theory construction accross the field of migration research illustrates, perhaps, the truth of Kuhn's observation that paradigms are never incorporated into disciplines by *fiat*, and that consensus among academic communities cannot be legislated into existence.

Notwithstanding the comprehensive definition of migration suggested above, it becomes apparent from any extensive review of the research literature that the search for a "perfect" definition of migration, free of all vagueness and ambiguity, is something of an illusory quest. No definition can hope to offer a complete description of the general field of migration discourse, and even the most general formulations often appear, on close inspection, to contain terms whose meanings remain dependent upon the context of their use.

Definitions of migration, therefore, in common with most definitions in the social sciences, have been unable to achieve the logical precision and methodological rigour of those definitions typically employed in the mature natural sciences. The observational terms of most of the data languages used in migration discourse do not denote a closed and determinate class of object referents, but rather phenomena whose meanings are only ever fully interpreted within the particular contexts of their use. Thus the terms of migration discourse in general, and of the definitions in particular, have continued to exhibit indexical properties which have eluded formulation as universal propositions.

This problem of definition and conceptualisation has been discussed by Petersen (1969:254) who has also drawn attention to the relatively indeterminate content of many definitional terms in the discourse of migration.

> 'Change of community' as an index of migration affords a very rough gauge of the meaning to be assigned to such indeterminate words as 'permanent' or 'significant' in the usual definition of migration,—the relatively permanent movement of persons over a significant distance.

Part of the indeterminacy of many of the definitions employed in migration discourse, as Petersen (1961:153) also remarks, arises from the highly arbitary nature of the criteria formulated for each definition. Most definitions in migration research have been neither *axiomatic*—that is, deriving from self-evident statements of fact, nor have they been *systematic*—that is, deriving from statements of general theoretical principle. For the most part, they have remained wholly *pragmatic*—that is, an *ad hoc* stipulation of specific sets of methodical procedures. This practice has discouraged any consistency in the use of definitions, and concepts often appear to be redefined within any particular research context.

> A migrant can be distinguished from travellers only by a number of more or less arbitary criteria: the distance covered, the duration of his stay, his purpose in moving, and so on.

From the range of definitions now available in the literature of migration research, it is evident that the conceptual boundaries delimiting the field of migration discourse have expanded considerably over the past several decades. The exclusive emphasis on spatial and physical criteria which characterised early demographic definitions of migrations has subsequently given way to a proliferation of other types of definition deriving from a variety of different disciplinary perspectives. These changes provide an important perspective on the underlying structure of migration discourse which may be said to have evolved beyond a quasi-paradigmatic stage of development—characterised by an early ascendency of demographic concepts—into the current state of methodological and theoretical pluralism.

Contemporary migration discourse displays a level of conceptual organisation which could best be described as "polycentric" in structure—a structure which takes its form from an ammalgamation of the different disciplinary traditions of which it is presently composed. There is, therefore, in this present state of conceptual organisation, little evidence of any underlying uniformity in the formation of concepts, or consistency in the use of definitions. Several recent observers have drawn attention to the current state of migration discourse and have commented adversely on the difficulties that attend the growth of systematic theory and research under conditions of such intellectual diversity. In this respect, the remarks of McNeil and Adams (1978:XI; XV) typify the conclusions of other writers in this area.

> ... in recent decades men of learning have not focused much attention on migration, and different intellectual disciplines have contrived to use very different vocabularies and conceptual frames, each according to its own tradition... Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of historical, legal, economic, anthropological, so-

> ciological, geographical and philosophical vocabularies... underlies the intellectual confusion that needs to be dissipated before any really satisfactory understanding of human migration can develop.

3. Classifying the Concept of Migration.

One of the traditional functions of definition in the literature of migration has been to establish the outer limits of the field of discourse, and to clarify the criteria which have served to distinguish the study of migration from allied topics of inquiry within the social sciences. Besides specifying the boundaries of particular fields of discourse, however, definitions have also established the basic terms in which the observation and description of relevant phenomena have been recorded in the prevailing data-languages of different fields. Definitions, therefore, express the methodical rules, which govern the formulation of observation reports, and for this reason, they play an essential role in structuring the domain of 'facts'—the empirical basis of all fields of scientific discourse.

In the case of migration, as with many other fields of social science discourse, the present range of definitions delimiting the field reflects an underlying diversity of data languages and conceptual frameworks. To this extent, the field of migration has continued to be characterised by a polycentric rather than a paradigmatic structure of discourse, a structure which is revealed in the plurality of theoretical strategies and methodological practices that populate the literature of migration research.

In addition to the role played by definition in establishing the external limits of migration discourse, classifications have also assumed an important role in the conceptual organisation of the field of migration. Beyond establishing the external limits of discourse, however, classifications have also sought to impose some internal structure on the field of migration discourse through the construction of typological categories and other forms of *differentia specificae*. In the absence of systematic theory, the classificatory and typological schema of migration discourse have often served as proto-theoretical frameworks. For the organisation of the field of discourse into different categories of migration has always remained predicated upon certain theoretical assumptions, even when these have not been made fully explicit.

To this extent, therefore, the field of migration could, perhaps, be expected to follow the development of other fields of scientific discourse, in which the elaboration of systematic theoretical frameworks has often had to await the construction of comprehensive taxonomic frameworks.

According to some authorities (c.f., for example, Hempel, 1965:139-140), the growth of scientific disciplines may best be conceptualised as the transformation from a purely *descriptive* stage to a more *theoretical* stage of conceptual development. Such a transformation implies a general reorientation of the field of discourse, whereby the predominance of observation terms and descriptive reports may be expected to gradually decline with the introduction of more theoretical terms and statements of theoretical generalisation.

> In fact, granting some oversimplification, the development of a scientific discipline may often be said to proceed from an initial "natural history" stage, which primarily seeks to describe the phenomenon under study and to establish simple empirical generalisations concerning them, to subsequent more and more "theoretical" stages, in which increasing emphasis is placed upon the attainment of comprehensive theoretical accounts of the empirical subject matter under investigation. The vocabulary required in the early stages of this development will be largely observational: It will be chosen so as to permit the description of those aspects of the subject matter which are ascertainable fairly directly by observation. The shift toward theoretical systematisation is marked by the introduction of new theoretical terms, which refer to various theoretically postulated entities, their characteristics, and the process in which they are involved; all of these are more or less removed from the level of directly observable things and

events.

As we have already observed, the development of systematic theory has, until now, remained largely absent from the field of migration discourse. The literature of migration research provides few examples of well integrated traditions of theory and research, and no examples of any theoretical frameworks which have succeeded in bringing about a unified structure to the field of discourse. As a social science specialty, therefore, the field of migration may be seen, at least from the perspective of writers such as Hempel, as essentially pre-theoretical in its stage of conceptual development—a condition which, as we have earlier suggested, may be partly attributable to the bureaucratic and technocratic origins of its discursive practices.

In the absence of systematic theory, the field of migration has remained largely descriptive in content and much of the development that has taken place in migration discourse, in common with other demographic sub-disciplines, has related to the descriptive functions of discourse. Thus, the recent history of migration research can be read as the progressive refinement of the descriptive functions of counting and classification, which have continued to evolve at the expense of any further theoretical development.

It is for this reason that the role of classification appears so central in the historical development of migration discourse. For in the absence of systematic theory, the shifting perspectives of migration which have periodically appeared and disappeared in the field of discourse can best be documented with reference to the classificatory schema.

In this sense, perhaps, it may be suggested that the essential changes of scope and direction of migration research have been recorded most effectively in the history of classification.

From any review of the literature of migration research, it becomes apparent that a considerable number of different classificatory schema have been represented over the past century, or so. These classifications have, for the most part, resisted integration either through research tradition or theory, and have remained dispersed accross the field of migration discourse. In his own way, Kant (1962:350) has alluded to the proliferation of classification in the research literature of migration.

> Despite many attempts at classification by different authors—statisticians, economists and sociologists as well as geographers—we still lack a generally used or recognized classification of migrational processes which would incorporate all forms of so-called horizontal migration within modern society and provide for systematic study and description.

However, even in a study such as this, which focuses on the structure of migration discourse, it is only possible to review a very small sample of the range of classification in the literature of migration. We shall, therefore, briefly review some of the more influential classifications, and try to show how some of these schema have succeeded in periodically redefining the limits of migration discourse.

For the purposes of this study, three forms of classification have been identified, although only two of these can be shown to have influenced the field of migration research.

The first form of classification found in migration discourse is exemplified in the ***historical typology*** which predominated at the turn of the century when the topic of migration was popular among historians and anthropogeographers. As its name implies, the historical typology focuses primarily upon the historical criteria separating different types of migration, and to this extent remains essentially chronological in scope. The second form of classification found in migration discourse may be termed the *empirical typology* which has as its object the classification of the contemporary patterns of migration. Whereas the historical typology focuses on longtitudinal and diachronic differences of migration, often from an evolutionist viewpoint, the empirical typology focuses on typological differences which may be observed from a cross-sectional or synchronic observation of the present state of migration.

The empirical typology focuses primarily upon the empirical criteria separating different types of contemporary migration, and to this extent, has remained essentially descriptive and taxonomic in scope.

The final form of classification schema, which has hitherto gone largely unrepresented in migration discourse, may be termed the *analytical typology*. This typology focuses on the logical criteria separating different categories of migration and remains, for this reason, primarily theoretical in scope. However, the development of analytical typologies in most scientific disciplines has invariably accompanied the transformation from descriptive to theoretical forms of discourse, and in the case of such demographic fields as migration, this transformation is still awaited.

Using the categories of "historical" and "empirical", therefore, we shall close this chapter with a brief review of some of the classical typologies of migration research and try to show how some of the more influential of these schema have succeeded in redefining the limits and, indeed, the conceptual content of migration discourse. It should be emphasised, however, that any attempt to rigidly demarcate "historical" from "empirical", or even from "analytical" forms of classification is doomed to failure, as these typological distinctions are based on differences of degree rather than differences of kind. Thus any actual typology necessarily exhibits characteristics of all three forms, to a greater of lesser extent.

The same, may of course, be said of the typologies, themselves, inasmuch as the distinctions they impose on different types of migration cannot be regarded as absolute distinctions based on differences of kind, but only as relative distinctions based on differences of degree. The phenomenon of migration can only ever be classified according to criteria which remain, in the final analysis, arbitary criteria; and differently classified forms of migration continue to share with each other several common characteristics.

> Classification, strictly speaking, is a yes-or-no affair: a class is determined by some concept representing its defining characteristics, and a given object falls either into this class or outside, depending upon whether it has or lacks the defining characteristics. In scientific research, however, the objects under study are often found to resist a tidy pigeon-holing of this kind. More precisely: those characteristics of the subject matter which, in a given context of investigation, suggest themselves as a fruitful basis of classification often cannot well be treated as properties which a given object *either* has *or* lacks; rather, they have the character of traits which are capable of gradations, and which a given object may therefore exhibit *more or less* markedly.
>
> Hempel (1965:151-152)

4. The Historical Typology.

Perhaps the most famous of all historical typologies to be found in the English language literature of migration, and certainly one of the most influential, is that first introduced by the American historian, Henry Pratt Fairchild in 1925. Fairchild proposed a four-fold classification in which the following types of migration were distinguished:

1. migration as ***invasion***, of which the Visigoth sack of Rome is given as the best example.
2. migration as ***conquest***, in which "the people of higher cultures" take the aggressive,
3. migration as ***colonisation***, when "a well established, progressive, and physically vigorous state" settles "newly discovered and thinly settled countries".
4. migration as ***immigration***, or the individually motivated, peaceful movement between well established countries "on approximately the same stage of civilisation".

It maybe seen, however, that when this typology is represented in schematic form, only four out of six possible cells are filled, according to Fairchild's classification—leaving two types of migration unaccounted for, although, as Petersen (1970) remarks, all types have been well represented in history.

Figure 3: Typology of Migration

Migration from	*Migration to*	*Peaceful movement*	*Warlike movement*
Low culture	High culture		Invasion
High Culture	Low culture	Colonization	Conquest
Cultures on a level		Immigration	

Source: After Fairchild (1925)

In spite of the logical problems apparent in this classification, it has remained one of the more influential of the earlier historical typologies, having been employed in the work of several eminent writers on migration, including by way of example, Davie, (1949); Isaac, (1947); and Taft and Robbins, (1955). It also continues to have the distinction of being one of the first historical typologies to appear in the English language. Apart from these considerations, however, Fairchild's classification remains of interest to us for other reasons. More than anything else, perhaps, it provides us with a clear example of the way in which a supposedly "objective" classification of the historical categories of migration rests upon a series of unstated and highly ideological assumptions. Such assumptions which, to some extent, underly all "objective" categories of scientific knowledge, constitute what might be termed, "the deep structures of discourse" - a structure which exists below the level of rational constructions and which is excavated only through an archeological understanding of the structure of scientific discourse.

In the case of Fairchild's classification, it is apparent that his distinction of "high" and "low" cultures is based on an essentially ethnocentric reading of cultural history, and his reference to England and India as examples of these respective cultural types merely confirms the evidence of his ethnocentric bias. Similary, other distinctions which may appear to be logically defensible categories also break down in the face of more searching scrutiny. Thus, as Petersen (1970) has also observed, the mutually exclusive distinction of "peaceful" and "warlike" migration processes cannot be applied to actual historical cases of migration. Fairchild's designation of "colonisation" as a *peaceful* category of migration, in contrast to the *warlike* processes of "conquest", belies the historical experience of those peoples who have been subjected to the historical process of colonisation. In the same way, Fairchild's definition of "invasion" as *warlike*—as in the case of the Visigoth invasion of Rome—also overlooks the extent to which this particular interpenetration of two cultures was accomplished peacefully in the manner of a gradual acculturation.

These illustrations hopefully go some way to show that Fairchild's classification was based upon a particular reading of cultural history—a reading which was presumably representative of the time in which he wrote. To this extent, Fairchild's contribution to the field of migration discourse remained profoundly influenced by these other (now outmoded) interpretations which formed an essential part of his overall understanding.

This, as we shall further document, has been the recurrent pattern of many other attempts which have been made to delimit and to organise the field of migration discourse through definition and classification. Many of the taxonomic schema to be found in the field of migration have included ideological and conceptual elements drawn from other fields of discourse, and these elements have remained largely unanalysed in the field of migration research. It is, therefore, part of the objective of this study to illuminate the elements of the *deep structure* of discourse through an archeological approach to the study of knowledge.

Some of the earliest historical typologies to be found in the field of migration were constructed in the latter part of the Nineteenth century, and the early part of the Twentieth century, by the anthropologists and cultural geographers who first presided over the systematic study of human migration. The orientation of many of these early European studies reflected the strong anthropological and historical interests of this first generation of scholars, and were largely focused on an area which would now be classified as "primitive migration".

In common with most anthropological research at the turn of the century, the topic of migration was typically studied from an holistic perspective which viewed population movement from within the context of the study of total cultures. One of the earliest students of human migration was the German scholar, Friedrich Ratzel who, between the years 1899-1912, published his pioneering study of the distribution of the human races entitled, *Anthropogeographie* (Ratzel 1899-1912). Ratzel held to the view, popular among his contemporaries, that population movement had remained a constant feature of human existence throughout time, and could not, for this reason, be regarded as an exceptional or aberrant event.

> Life is movement, and consequently history is movement, for history is the sum and result of the phenomena of life. The history of mankind is composed of a series of movements and counter-movements, just as is the history of plants and animals.[2]

Consistent with the scholastic tradition of the late Nineteenth century, Ratzel's study of human migration was primarily focused on population movement within primitive and traditional societies, where the impact of industrialisation and modernisation remained minimal. For cultural geographers and anthropologists, these simple societies provided continued opportunities for the study of total cultures which had remained largely untouched by the influence of the modern world. Such cultures could be studied in methodological isolation from the outside world, without the complex methods of analysis which proved necessary for the study of modern societies. For these reasons, the early study of migration remained largely preoccupied with the classification of primitive migration—or the *Volkerwanderungen*, the wanderings of folk communities.

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[2] Cited in Becker (1930:147).

It was only later, at the beginning of the Twentieth century, when the full impact of the internal migrations occaisoned by the industrialisation and modernisation of European society was recognised, that scholars turned their attention more seriously to the phenomena of contemporary migration. This reorientation brought about the demise of many of those earlier classifications whose relatively simple methodologies proved increasingly ill-adapted to the study of migration in the complex conditions of modern industrial societies. Thus Ferdinand von Richtofen observed in 1912,

> We like to plunge into studies of the geography of traffic dealing with past times or underdeveloped countries; but the first railroads spoil our results, and the traffic geography of western culture stands essentially in an extremely remote relationship to physical geography. It is continually becoming more a brand of economics or international economics.[3]

Ratzel, himself, introduced the typological distinction between, what he termed, the *Beharrungsgebiete* and *Bewegungsgebiete*, by which he intended to draw attention to the differences in peoples and regions of different degrees of mobility. This early classification can be seen as an attempt to construct a generalised historical typology with applicability to all categories of *Volkwanderungen*.

The early discourse of migration, therefore, was characterised by its focus on nomadic and semi-nomadic wanderings of aboriginal and traditional peoples in areas remote from the influences of the modern world. There exists a considerable literature from the early anthropogeographical tradition of scholarship, although much of it retains only an historical and archival interest for most modern readers. It was at the 1938 Geographic Congress, held in Amsterdam, that the old tradition of migration research achieved its fullest expression before declining into relative obscurity. For it was at this Congress that scholars from all over Europe came to discuss the issues of human migration, and to exchange the conclusions of their own investigations.

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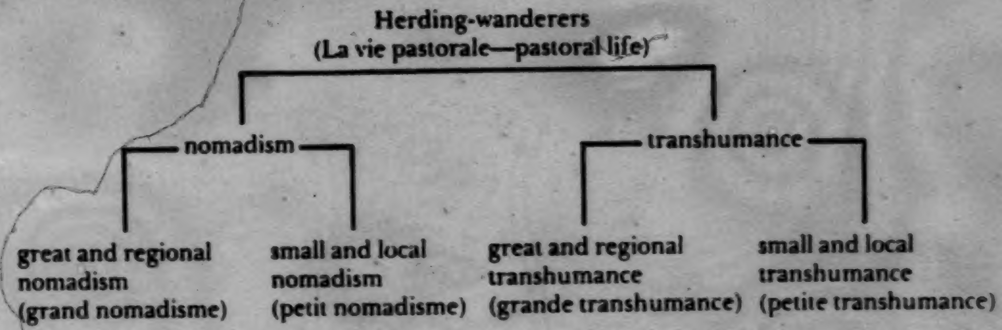
[3] Cited in Kant (1962:343).

The influential classification of nomadic and semi-nomadic migration proposed by Phillipé Arbos dates from around this time, and provides one of the last examples from this period of a systematic typology of primitive migration.

Figure 4: Typology of Migration under Pastoralism


Herding-wanderers
(La vie pastorale—pastoral life)
nomadism
transhumance
great and regional nomadism (grand nomadisme)
small and local nomadism (petit nomadisme)
great and regional transhumance (grande transhumance)
small and local transhumance (petite transhumance)

Source: After Kant (1962)

Even from a cursory review of the literature, therefore, it is evident that the historical typology occupied a central place in the early evolution of migration discourse. For most scholars of this period, the construction of comprehensive historical typologies of human migration was regarded as a necessary precondition for the subsequent development of systematic theory. At a time when intellectual progress in the biological sciences had undergone a rapid acceleration, students of the social sciences awaited the appearance of an equivalent Linnean figure with whom to usher in their own Darwinian revolution. And so it was in the field of migration; the primary tasks of the early period were generally acknowledged to be taxonomic in nature. Indeed, the belief that the general typology constituted an essential precondition for the growth of systematic theory, still continues to find support, and is expressed in the work of a number of contemporary writers. Thus Petersen (1970:66) observes:

> The preferable procedure in any discipline is to establish our concepts and the logical relations among them, and to collect our statistics in terms of this conceptual framework, The principle purpose of the typology, then, is to offer, by such an ordering of conceptual types, a basis for the possible development of theory.

The end of the Nineteen Thirties brought to a close the "historical" phase in the development of migration discourse and with it, the ascendency of the historical typology. However, it was also during the period that several writers drew attention to what would become, an important distinction in later taxonomies of migration, a distinction which had hitherto been neglected in the historical typologies of pre-industrial migration. Such writers as Numelin (1937) and Heberle (1955), for example, distinguished between migration which was brought about largely through the external pressures of environment and natural conditions, and migration which was largely iniated in pursuit of personal and collective social and economic goals. Thus Numelin (1937:180-1) graphically records a particular type of externally induced migration—a species of *Volkwanderungen*, which he terms, "marine wanderings".

> There are countless examples ... (of) more or less accidental wanderings from island to island over oceanic expanses of water, brought about by winds and currents. The space of time and extent of these voyages seem to play a subordinate part. Journeys covering 3000 miles are not unusual. They may last six weeks or several months. Even without provisions the natives can get along, as they fish for their food and collect rainwater to drink.

The difference between externally and internally induced migration was also acknowledged in an influential paper by Herberle, in which he introduced a number of related conceptual distinctions. In this paper, Heberle (1955:68, 70) proposed a series of ideal types corresponding to the different institutional conditions under which migration occurred. His paper may be read as a programmatic statement on the development of systematic theory in the field of migration through the judicious construction of typological generalisations. Alluding to the difference between externally and internally induced migration, Heberle advanced the following general proposition,

> ... the more advanced the economic structure of a society, the greater the importance of intrinsic and social, instead of extraneous and natural, factors in determining volume and direction of migration.

It was through the construction of such taxonomic categories that Heberle believed a theoretical science of migration would evolve.

> The intention here is merely to outline a few concepts which could form the basis for a general theory of human migration. Such a theory would, of course, involve much more than a typology.

Most of the historical typologies which were constructed during the early development of the field of migration research, therefore, tended to focus on pre-industrial or primitive forms of migration. This was, in large part, due to the fact that many classical scholars of historical migration came from the disciplines of history, anthropology and cultural geography, and were thus more naturally drawn to the study of pre-modern populations. Of course, as Petersen (1970:55) has correctly observed, the study of primitive migrations does not necessarily denote the wanderings of primitive peoples, *per se*, but rather population movements determined by external factors which are, at the same time, related to the inability of particular human groups to cope with natural forces. For the most part, however, there is a strong tendency for primitive migrations, defined in the above sense, to be associated with primitive peoples.

Indeed, before the eventual demise of the historical typology in migration research and its subsequent replacement by what we shall term, "the empirical typology", several important distinctions had been established in the classification of primitive migration. An increasing number of scholars began to distinguish between those migrations which were externally induced by natural conditions, and those migrations which were evidently more directed and purposeful. Thus, the traditional German conception of *Volkwanderungen* was increasingly reserved for the relatively aimless wanderings—over land or water—of those communities and nationalities displaced by environmental and natural pressures. Such movements, however, were later distinguished from the more regular forms of mobility associated with hunting and gathering populations who ranged over a traditional territorial area, either as "gatherers"—if they were food collectors, or as "nomads"—if they were cattle owners. The difference between these two forms of migration was later expressed by Petersen as the difference between "conservative" migrants—who mainly sought to preserve a traditional way of life in new surroundings, and "innovative" migrants—who sought to adapt to new environmental and natural conditions. Finally, many researchers during the last decades of the Nineteenth century found it necessary to acknowledge the importance of the growing amount of internal migration within their own countries. Such migration was often classified as "flight from the land".

Thus, by the close of the early period of migration research, a number of different types of primitive migration had been established through historical classification. These typological categories are represented schematically in the figure below.

Figure 5: Typology of Primitive Migrations

Primitive	Wandering	Wandering of peoples
		Marine wandering
	Ranging	Gathering
		Nomadism
	Flight from the land	

Source: After Petersen (1958)

5. The Empirical Typology.

The decline of historical typologies of migration which occured towards the end of the third decade of the Twentieth century signalled the end of an intellectual epoch. In place of the earlier scholars whose comparative interests in anthropology and cultural geography had primarily disposed them to the study of primitive migration, a new generation of social scientists evolved to inaugurate new traditions of migration research. These new research traditions differed from the earlier anthrogeographical studies in a number of important ways.

1. they were more *empirical* in content—focusing on the phenomenon of contemporary migration, rather than on movement of traditional or aboriginal

populations.

2. they were more *formalised* in method, often using the statistical methods of mathematical demography to measure population movement.

3. they were more *specialized* in scope, separating the earlier more holistic studies of migration into increasingly more fragmented studies from demographic, historical, economic—and later, from psychological perspectives.

However, perhaps the most significant change inaugurated by the new empirical research traditions was the transformation of the field of migration from a relatively *unified* to a more *diversified* structure of discourse. In an important sense, the emergence of the empirical perspective and the entry of an increasing number of different disciplines into the field of discourse brought about the demise of the unified study of migration, and the advent of a new compartmentalisation of research based upon an underlying academic division of labour.

These changes were naturally reflected in the continued attempts of researchers to satisfactorily delimit the scope of migration discourse. Indeed, one of the clearest indications of the shift of perspective which occurred in migration research, can be seen in the literature of classification. In general terms, it may be suggested that most of the classificatory schema constructed by students of migration after 1940, signalled the new empirical emphasis of the contemporary research tradition, and differed in this respect from the earlier historical typologies constructed at the turn of the century.

One of the earliest examples of an empirical typology of migration can be found in the work of Ravenstein [1885] (1965) whose "Laws of Migration" will be examined at greater length in the following chapter. In 1885, Ravenstein proposed a classification of migrants which avoided any reference to historical or theoretical considerations and, for this reason, stands as a model example of empirical classification. In his conspicuous rejection of the earlier historical tradition of migration, therefore, Ravenstein's work provides a clear example of how the ideals of empirical scientific research entered into the discourse of migration.

In contrast to the earlier historical typologies, Ravenstein's classification was based on purely observational categories. Unlike the historical typologies which were invariably reconstructed from interpretations of secondary sources, therefore, Ravenstein believed his own classification to be independent of particular theoretical or ideological traditions. It was based, in his view, on the direct observation of migration made possible by the new techniques of mathematical demography. Ravenstein's classification of migrants, therefore, was based on the following empirical categories:

1. local migrants
2. short-journey migrants
3. long-journey migrants
4. migration by stages

Although Ravenstein's purely descriptive approach to the problems of classification and theory-construction in migration research has now lost much of its former appeal, it was received during its time as a model of scientific rigour. Today, however, it is widely recognised that no system of discourse which aims to develop theoretical generalisations can restrict itself solely to a vocabulary of observational terms. This is generally perceived to be a fatal flaw in Ravenstein's restricted conception of migration discourse. In his hands, the field of migration would have become a purely descriptive discourse suitable only for reporting the superficial numerical data of specific and isolated cases of population movement. For this reason, Ravenstein's approach to the process of classification and, as we shall also see, to the formulation of 'Migration Laws', proved inimical to the tasks of empirical generalisation and theory construction in migration discourse. His work is remembered, if at all, as an early and unsuccessful attempt to impose a deterministic model of discourse on the field of migration.

One of the more influential of the modern migration typologies to appear in recent years, and one which has continued to dominate the literature of migration is that proposed by Petersen (1970). In defining his set of typological categories, Petersen attempted to set down some basic principles of classification for the field of migration which, he hoped, would also serve as a basis for future theory construction.

Following from an established distinction between 'externally' and 'internally' induced migration in some of the earlier historical typologies, Petersen proposed to distinguish between those migrations which were brought about in response to a search for new conditions and opportunities, and those migrations which were brought about through a desire to perpetuate traditional patterns of life. To these apparently distinctive forms of migration, Petersen gave the names "innovative" and "conservative" migration, respectively. However, although this distinction has the advantage of providing clearly stated and generalisable criteria for the classification of population movements, it is not without its own problems. As Goldscheider (1971:34-5) has shown, Petersen's apparently 'objective' criteria are not completely free from ambiguity and remain open to a number of different interpretations.

> The question remains, innovative or conservative for whom ? or for what? Surely migration may be innovative irrespective of, and sometimes contrary to, the motives of the migrants of the activating agents. Moreover, migration may be innovative in terms of changes in economic, demographic, political and social structures, or in terms of cultural or personal changes, or both.

In other words, the categories of "innovative" and "conservative" are based upon inescapably normative criteria, and in applying these criteria to any particular case of migration, the question of whose values are represented in the classification—those of the migrants, or those of the host or donor societies—becomes a central question. Even in relatively empirical typologies, such as that proposed by Petersen, the fundamental categories of classification continue to rest upon unstated conceptual assumptions. To this extent, the deep structure of this empirical typology does not really differ in kind from the earlier historical typologies.

Having distinguished between these two primary forms of migratory selection, Petersen proceeds to further outline five different *classes* of migration which he then analyses in terms of a variety of taxonomic criteria. These five main classes of migration include:

1. primitive
2. impelled
3. forced
4. free
5. mass

It is, perhaps, for this particular typology of migration that Petersen has become deservedly famous. For with this classification, Petersen succeeded in providing a framework which was capable of integrating a wide range of diverse research data and which, almost for the first time, introduced a systematic perspective into the field of migration discourse.

Although Petersen intended his classification to be defined according to acceptable logical and empirical criteria, it is clear that his basic categories owe something to previous historical typologies. Thus, his conception of *primitive* migration, while distinguishing between 'wandering' and 'ranging' populations, is clearly related to the earlier conception of *Volkwanderungen*, a population movement which Petersen has defined as "conservative" in origin.

Whereas for Petersen, primitive migrations are characterised by the external compulsion of natural forces, in those migrations which are defined as *forced* or *impelled*, the external compulsion is conceived as social in origin. Thus, impelled migrations are those movements over which the migrant population retains some power, even if minimal; while forced migrations refer to those movements over which the migrant population exercises no control. Petersen distinguishes as an example, the Nazi policy of encouraging Jewish emigration from Germany between 1933-8, from the later forcible relocation of Jews to concentration camps between 1938-45. Whether or not forced migrations are classified as innovative or conservative movements depends, according to Petersen, upon how the 'activating agents' of the migration process are defined. Forced movements which originate as a response to labour needs—slavery, or indentured labour, for example—may be defined as innovative.

The class of *free* migration is defined by Petersen as those migrations in which the 'will' of the migrant is the determining factor in population movement. The great transatlantic migration from Europe to North America which took place during the Nineteenth century is presented as an illustrative example of this class of migration. At the same time, however, the class of free migration is also divisible into conservative and innovative categories. Petersen proposes that the term 'group migration' be used to classify types of free migration, and that 'pioneer migration' refer to a correspondingly innovative type. This classification is intended to distinguish between those new world migrants who moved collectively in order to perpetuate life-styles based on religious beliefs and cultural values, and those migrants who moved individually in search of new opportunities.

The distinction between the classes of free and *mass* migration, in Petersen's classification, appears to be defined primarily as a difference of degree. When a free population movement is characterised by a dramatic increase in the volume of migration, the individual motives of migrants are lost in the broader stream of immigration. At this stage, implies Petersen, migration has to be classified as an example of collective behaviour, or as a 'social fact', which is no longer reducible to the individual aspirations and motives of particular migrant actors. The process of mass migration, therefore, is seen to be determined by a broader set of values than was previously the case for free migration, many of which have been brought about by the rapid increase in the volume of migration. Petersen distinguishes between two types of mass migration—'settlement', which refers to migration into a traditional area (often rural) of immigrant settlement where cultural values are likely to be preserved, and 'urbanisation', in which migration takes place in the large city where assimilative pressures contribute to the erosion of traditional cultural values. The basic structure of Petersen's classification is represented in the figure below, which gives some indication of the comprehensive and systematic character of this empirical typology.

Figure 6: Typology of Migration

General types of migration			*Migratory selection by type of migration*								
			'Conservative'					*'Innovating'*			
Type of interaction	*Migratory force*	*Class of migration*	*Type of migration*		*Destination*	*Migratory selection*	*Comments: Examples*	*Type of migration*	*Destination*	*Migratory selection*	*Comments: Examples*
Nature and Man	Ecological push	Primitive	Wandering	Wandering of peoples Marine wandering	None	Survival of the fittest	Prehistoric migration	Flight from the land	Move for land (or towns)	?	Malthusian pressure
			Gatherers and Nomads	Gathering Nomads	Greener pastures	None	Migratory way of life				
State (or equivalent) and Man	Migration policy	Impelled	Flight		Place of safety	None or minority groups	Emigrés and refugees	Coolie trade	Site of work usually plantations	Young males	Large remigration
		Forced	Displacement		Any place		Population exchanges	Slave trade	Site of work	Young males	Mercantile or industrial
Man and his norms	Higher aspirations	Free	Group		New lands	Dissident groups		Pioneer	Frontier	Young lands	Individually males
Collective behaviour	Social momentum	Mass	Settlement		Rural areas	Young males predominat	Social momentum	Urbanisation	Towns	Young females predominate	

Source: After Petersen (1958)

In another survey of the classification literature of migration research, the Swedish cultural geographer, Edgar Kant, traced the development of typological frameworks from the late Nineteenth century to the middle of the Twentieth. This literature survey is particulary rich in historical detail and provides an excellent introduction to the early growth of classification in migration discourse.

As a geographer, Kant was essentially concerned to find a classification system which could be used to accurately represent the geographical patterns of population movement. His taxonomy is, therefore, proposed as a precondition for the later cartographic representation of migration through the use of maps, flow lines, diagrams, and other symbolic techniques of population geography.

For Kant, the major geographic distinction between different classes of migration is that which separates 'intercontinental' from 'intra-continental' migrations. Intercontinental migrations, as he suggests, are those transoceanic movements which take place from one to another of the five great continental divisions of the world, as well as between South and North America, and between Soviet Europe and Soviet Asia. Intracontinental migrations, by contrast are those migrations which take place over land or water within the same continent. After further distinguishing between the classes of international and national migration, Kant then proposed a typology for the classification of 'intranational' or what is more commonly referred to as 'internal' migration. His typology is included here as an example of a relatively specialised approach to the problem of classification. Kant's typology is derived from an interest in regional geographic studies, and is intended to advance the chorographic representation of population movements. Thus, the classification of internal migration, according to Kant, may be broken down into the following taxonomic elements.

1. INTRALOCAL OR INTRAREGIONAL MIGRATIONS
2. Intraurban migrations
3. Intrarural migrations
4. INTERLOCAL OR INTEREGIONAL MIGRATIONS
5. Migrations by change of environment
6. Migrations between similar parts of a country.

It can readily be seen, therefore, that Kant's typology of internal migration is essentially empirical in character and is based upon largely descriptive criteria. In this respect, geographical classifications of migration have done little to advance more generalised forms of theory-construction within the field, and have tended to minimise the significance of other types of sociological and socio-psychological variables. Notwithstanding the considerable influence that Kant's review of the classification literature has had, therefore, his own contribution to the migration taxonomy has remained limited by his apparent reluctance to take into account the inter-disciplinary division of migration discourse.

Another example of a recent empirical typology is provided by Tilly (1978). Based on an extensive historical and comparative review of the migration literature, Tilly has proposed a classification which distinguishes several classes of migration in terms of their *length* and *definiteness*. Thus units of migration, whether these are individual migrants, households, or other social units can be classified in terms of the distance moved. However, for Tilly, units of migration may also be usefully classified in terms of the extent to which the social unit has broken with the area of origin. In both cases it is possible to conceive of a continuum of classification including a minimum value below which neither distance travelled, nor degree of social dislocation, would constitute an adequate definition of migration. According to Tilly, therefore, the process of migration can most usefully be conceptualised in relative terms, which allow for the definition of greater and lesser degrees of migration, with the theoretical extrema of complete population stability and complete population mobility. With this classification schema, Tilly has identified four distinct classes of migration which, he suggests, may be distinguished in terms of the above criteria.

1. local migration
2. circular migration
3. chain migration
4. career migration

By 'local migration', Tilly refers to relatively short distances of migration, where an individual or household unit moves within a geographically contiguous area. Such moves may be determined by a variety of market pressures, whether of land, labour or marriage markets. The short distances involved in local migration also ensures that the extent of break with the place of origin is also likely to be small.

'Circular' migration is distinguished by the fact that it entails the movement of the individual or household unit through a set of circumstances which eventuate in a return to the place of origin. Thus seasonal agricultural workers, itinerant labourers, soldiers and other temporarily defined migrants all fall into the class of circular migration. Similarly, the extensive numbers of *Gastarbeiter* and *ouvriers étrangères* who presently circulate within Western Europe may also be classified in this category.

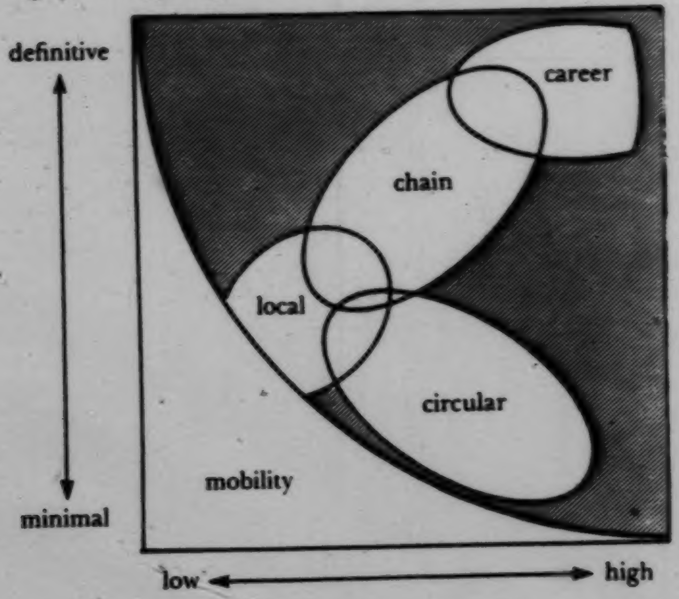
In the case of 'chain migration', population movements are characterised by a series of 'steps' which mediate between the origin and destination of movement. At each intermediate step in the migration process, new migrants are provided with information and resources by more established migrants before, themselves, becoming established in a settled location. Such migration usually entails a considerble backflow of information and remittances to the area of origin, thus providing the means for other individuals and households to emigrate and join the chain of outward migration. Chain migration invariably results in the clustering of local populations at destination points in the process of migration, whether these take the form of relocated rural settlements, or more commonly, national and local enclaves within large cities.

Finally, the category of 'career' migration' is defined by Tilly as those forms of migration in which individuals or households move in response to opportunities opened up within the structure of large oganisations. Thus relocations undertaken within the context of large corporations, government agencies, armed forces or trade unions, for example, fall into the class of career migration. Perhaps one of the distinctive social aspects of this type of migration is that it is relatively independent of the traditional sources of support extended to prospective or new migrants by relatives or friends. The major sources of support for career migrants are largely institutional. Given the increased span of control exercised by large bureaucratic organisations today, the class of career migration has become an important type of population movement.

Unlike many other empirical classifications of migration, Tilly's typology represents an attempt to move beyond a simple classification of descriptive categories into a conceptual organisation of the research data. At the same time, however, as Tilly (1978:56) himself has been quick to acknowledge, this classification is by no means complete and fails to take into account several important distinctions which have remained central to the literature of classification.

> The rough classification of migration into local, circular, chain and career does not exhaust the significant distinction one might make. For example, it catches quite imperfectly the important difference between individual and collective migration; although on the whole chain and circular migration involve single individuals less frequently than do local or career migration...
>
> The classification does not embody the distinction between forced and voluntary migration ... (nor) does it easily separate two rather different relationships between a major city and its hinterland...

Figure 7: Typology of Four Standard Migration Patterns



Source: After Tilly (1978)

In many ways, the apparent limitations of Tilly's typology illustrate the extent to which any classification remains a product of the discursive practices which underly it. No classifications which have yet appeared in the literature of migration have succeeded in gaining a general acceptance accross the field of discourse, and very few have received recognition as enduring frameworks for the systematic organisation of migration research data. Thus most attempts at classification have remained indelibly stamped with the particularistic interests underlying them, so that the variety of classificatory schema has continued to reflect the diversity of methodological and conceptual purposes for which they have been constructed. Given the present polycentric state of migration discourse therefore, and the variety of discursive practices which underly it, it seems unlikely that anything approaching a comprehensive taxonomy of human migration will appear in the forseeable future.

Another typology of migration, which appeared in the literature several years ago, offers a valuable perspective on the logic of classification. In his discussion of the tradition of classification in the field of migration, Eichenbaum (1975) contends that most migration typologies have overlooked the importance of forced population movements in world migration, and have concentrated exclusively on voluntary migrations of the transatlantic type. Eichenbaum thus proposes a migration typology which would focus primarily on involuntary forms of population movement, and which would also distinguish between different categories of involuntary movement.

The migration typology outlined by Eichenbaum is conceptualised as a matrix of human movement organized around two coordinate axes, one of which represents the decision to move from area of *origin,* and the other which represents the decision to move to a *destination.* In this sense, Eichenbaum has reconceptualised the traditional demographic distinction between 'push' factors which propel migrants from their original areas, and 'pull' factors which attract migrants to their eventual destinations. However, Eichenbaum adds a third dimension to this particular dichotomy by suggesting that both push and pull decisions may be represented on a continuum which extends from those decisions which are totally determined by society, and those decisions which are totally independent of society. Using a trichotomous decision-making continuum which is applicable to both coordinates of 'push' and 'pull', Eichenbaum thus generates a matrix containing nine logically possible cases of population movement—although as he quickly points out, only some of these cells represent empirical cases, while other cells express only logically possible cases.

The continuum of social determination in the process of population movement is expressed in Eichenbaum's matrix by three categories of decision:

1. a decision made by the individual completely independent of external influence, purely on the basis of 'free will'—the totally voluntary case.
2. a decision completely determined for the individual by outside agencies—the totally involuntary case.
3. Intermediate decisions incorporating varying degrees of external influence.

When applied to the traditional distinction of 'push' 'pull' factors, therefore, this trichotomous decision-making continuum yields the following matrix of human movement which forms the basis of Eichenbaum's classification of the field of migration.

Figure 8: Matrix of Human Movement

		Decision to move from origin		
		Independent of society	Influenced by society	Determined by society
Decision to move to destination	Independent of society purely stochastic	models based only on individual characteristics	Stochastic trends	Ecological model of mobility rates
	Influenced by society	Stochastic trends	active **Migrants** passive	**Refugees**
	Determined by society	Gravity model of migration	**Allocatees**	**Slaves**

Abstract categories

Real categories

Source: After Eichenbaum (1975)

In his discussion of the categories of human movement, Eichenbaum distinguishes between those cells of the matrix which contain only non-empirical cases—that is, cases which are logically permissible but exist only in the abstract, and those cells which contain empirical cases of population movement—that is, cases which have existed in reality. All real cases of population movement, according to Eichenbaum, contain some elements of superindividual determination; hence, those cases for which no superindividual reference in given—matrix cells 1,2,3,4 and 7—cannot be said to represent real cases of population movement.

Eichebaum thus concentrates his analysis on the remaining four cells of the matrix—numbers 5,6,8 and 9—which he regards as representative of empirical cases of population movement insofar as they all include some reference to a superindividual element of determination. The empirical cases are defined according to the following general terms:

1. cell number 5 is defined as the category of *active migrants* whose movement, while partially influenced by social conditions, still retains an important voluntary element.
2. cell number 6 is defined as the category of *refugees* whose movement from area of origin is totally determined by social conditions, but whose movement to destination area is only partially influenced.
3. cell number 8 is designated as the category of *allocatees* whose movement to destination area is totally determined by social conditions, but whose movement from area of origin is only partially influenced.
4. cell number 9 is defined as the category of *slaves*, all of whose movements both from area of origin and to area of destination, are totally determined by social conditions.

The purpose of Eichenbaum's classification, as he suggests, is to bring about a reorientation in the taxonomic frameworks of human movement, and to draw attention to the superindividual determinants of such movement. In this sense, Eichenbaum's typology is offered as a corrective to the orthodox tradition of classification in migration discourse which has tended to emphasise the voluntary character of human migration, neglecting the extent to which voluntary movement is, itself, determined to a greater or lesser extent by a variety of social and political contingencies.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that Eichenbaum's typology of human movement will introduce a greater reflexivity into the classification literature and will, for this reason, contribute to a more systematic delimitation of the field of migration discourse. Apart from the adequacy of his conceptualisation, Eichenbaum's typology provides a theoretically informed classification constructed on the basis of eminently logical and empirical criteria.

It is appropriate, perhaps, at this point to begin to draw together some of the basic themes which have been pursued throughout this chapter with a view to formulating some general statements regarding the conceptual limits of migration discourse.

The purpose of the foregoing analysis has been to clarify the ways in which the field of migration discourse has been identified and organised by scholars working within this area of research. From a schematic survey of the literature of definition and classification, we have tried to demonstrate the ways in which all major attempts to delimit the topic of migration, as a theoretical problematic of discourse, have failed to reconcile different traditions of research, and have been unable to integrate different languages of theory and observation into any unified conceptual framework.

The field of migration, therefore, may be said to exhibit an essentially polycentric structure of discourse—a structure fragmented between a number of different research traditions, each employing their own data languages and conceptual frameworks. It is a situation which, in some respects, resembles the early stage of development of the mature natural sciences before they acquired unified frameworks, or paradigms, of theory and research.

Evidence of this polycentric structure can be seen in the diversity of definitions and classifications which have populated the research literature of migration since its formation as a distinctive area of knowledge. It is, after all, the processes of definition and classification which have constituted the primary 'rules of formation' of other fields of scientific discourse, and the diversity of these rules in the field of migration may be compared to their unity in other established fields of scientific discourse.

Part of the problem which has prevented a uniform delimitation of the field of migration discourse lies, as Goldscheider (1971:34) has observed, in the proliferation of criteria which have been invoked to define the concept of 'migration'. Migration has been conceptualised in terms of a wide variety of categories which have continued to reflect differences of disciplinary orientation, level of analysis, unit of analysis, and other differential aspects of the deep structure of migration discourse.

> Yet, within these categories of determinants, a heterogenous array of factors at different analytic levels are lumped together. The mixture of social-psychological (restlessness), demographic (sex ratio), economic (business recessions), political (oppression), legal (legal enactments), cultural (degree of inter-group tolerance), social (marriage patterns), and environmental (natural disasters) factors is neither justifiable analytically nor profitable scientifically as a means to understanding migration processes within a coherent and consistent framework.

It has been the diversity of these conceptualisations of migration, and the absence of any systematic framework for their organisation and conceptual integration which has impeded the theoretical development of migration discourse. For without any standardisation of data-languages, it has proven impossible to develop any generally acceptable definitions or taxonomies of the field.

The problem of defining and delimiting the field of migration has also been analysed in some detail by Goldscheider (1971). In his survey of the range of definitions which have been used to delimit the concept of 'migration', Goldscheider has identified four main approaches in the research literature. Each of these approaches has sought to establish general criteria with which to delimit the concept of 'migration' and to distinguish it from other closely related forms of population movement. However, Goldscheider found that none of these approaches have managed to provide a fully satisfactory delimitation of the concept, as counterinstances may easily be found for each of the definitions proposed. According to Goldscheider, successive attempts to define the concept of 'migration' have each tried to differentiate 'migration' from 'non-migration' on the basis of different types of exclusion.

1. exclusions based directly on the limited consequences of some moves.
2. exclusions based on the type of boundary crossed.
3. exclusion of continual movers.
4. exclusions based on some notion of 'time' or 'permanence'.

The first category has sought to exclude from the concept of 'migration' those moves which do not involve "a complete change or readjustment", or which do not result in a change of community affiliation. However, as Goldscheider has also observed, such a distinction overlooks possible differences between different levels of analysis, for what may appear to be an insignificant move at an individual level, may well appear more significant when viewed as part of a collective phenomenon.

Similarly, attempts to define migration in terms of whether or not an administrative boundary has been crossed are also frequently misconceived. For under certain conditions, movements from one area to another within a locality, especially if these movements traverse such significant borders as, for example ethnic neighbourhoods, may involve greater changes than other movements accross country, provincial or state boundaries. Thus while administrative units may well serve to distinguish among different types of migration—transcontinental, intercontinental etc.—administrative boundaries are poor criteria for the conceptual delimitation of the field of migration.

The exclusion of continual movers from the concept of 'migration' is also rejected by Goldscheider on the grounds that inasmuch as continuous movement represents the opposite extreme from complete stability, any adequte conceptualisation of migration should include a continuum of possible meanings.

Finally, any attempt to exclude movement which is not permanent or semipermanent from the concept of 'migration' also entails some unacceptable consequences. It would, for example, exclude from the definition of migration many immigrants who, often in violation of their official status as 'temporary migrants', have succeeded in establishing themselves semipermanently in foreign countries. In these cases, the problem is whether we accept the objective (i.e. official) definition of the immigrant as a temporary mover, or the subjective (i.e. personal) definition of the migrant as a permanent mover.

Again, it is clear that any adequate definition of migration has to be able to take into account these various levels of analysis; in this respect, all *ad hoc* and *a prioristic* definitions appear doomed to oversimplification.

The problems of definition and classification, therefore, as they pertain to the delimitation of migration discourse, derive in large part from the polycentric nature of the discursive community. It has been the fragmentation of research traditions and the corresponding absence of any methodological or theoretical consensus which has undercut the formation of a unified field of discourse.

> The contradictions noted in the literature with respect to the inclusiveness of the migration concept and the types of migration that may be distinguished are partly a function of ad hoc and arbitary considerations resulting from inadequate and imprecise conceptualisation. We have insisted on conceptual or theoretical justification when examining the definition of migration or when deciding on a basis for separating migration types. Mechanical, automatic, or arbitary procedures may be easier, but less convincing.
>
> Goldscheider (1971:74)

In this respect, it is difficult to conceive of any instant strategies to change this state of affairs, for there is no case on record of disciplines whose fields of discourse have been magically transformed by methodological *fiat*, or theoretical *diktat*. Paradigms, as Kuhn has suggested, cannot simply be legislated into existence.

At the same time, however, it is clear that if any significant theoretical progress is to be made in the area of migration research, the present diversity of method, concept, and theoretical orientation has to be brought under more systematic control. There is evidently a need to develop a conceptual framework of migration research capable of integrating the various levels of analysis currently represented in studies of migration. Thus, microlevel observations must be integrated with macrolevel observations, microlevel explanations with macrolevel explanations, 'subjective' factor accounts with 'objective' factor accounts, causal explanations with motivational explanations, structural explanations with psychological explanations, and so on.

Until more systematic frameworks begin to exercise some influence in migration research, there appears little prospect of much significant theoretical development. Indeed, as Goldscheider (op.cit: 40) has argued, until more systematic approaches are adopted, migration research will remain at the level of descriptive studies.

> We must not remain satisfied with mechanistic and descriptive correlations in sociological demography. Our goal is to move beyond description into analysis, beyond post facto and ad hoc generalisation into theories that embrace a greater complexity of phenomena.

In retrospect, however, the historical transformations which have periodically overtaken particular fields of discourse have invariably been influenced by opinions and ideas from other fields. It is a rare case in which a field of discourse has undergone a radical reconstitution in isolation from other fields. The pattern of change in most fields of discourse has often been part of a larger historical tendency which has expressed itself at different levels in different fields.

Such changes have often come about, not only as the result of any immanent criticism of the structure and content of a field of discourse, but also as an expression of other influences which may originate within the larger social context of the discursive community. Thus domain assumptions, power relationships and other conflicts of interest have, at various times, all exercised their influences on the development of particular fields of scientific discourse. In another context, Moses (1975:27) has also commented on the ways in which the technical disputes contained in academic discourse may, in fact, reflect more basic disagreements over fundamental assumptions. Such disputes will not be solved internally within the field of discourse by 'normal scientists', but must await a more general crisis in the legitimacy of the discourse, before they can reappear no longer as technical problems, but as political and moral problems. This, perhaps, could also be said of migration discourse.

> These debates...are not to be resolved in the arena of technical and statistical expertise. Rather, these are issues embedded in deeply rooted contrary and conflicting ideas about the dignity and value of individual human beings and the role of organized society in responding to the needs and demands presented by different individuals and groups. While the debates may be expressed within the technical parlance of arcane refinement, the resolution lies not with the technicians, but rather with the competing ideas, interests and power which are brought to bear.

Having sketched out some of the implications of the polycentric structure of discourse for the problem of delimiting the field of migration, we shall now turn to a more detailed consideration of the diversity of theoretical strategies currently represented in the literature of migration research.

CHAPTER 5. THEORETICAL METAPHORS OF MIGRATION DISCOURSE

1. The Language of Theory and Migration Discourse.

2. The Metaphorical Content of Migration Discourse.

3. The Genetic Metaphors of Migration Discourse.

4. The Thematic Metaphors of Migration Discourse.

5. The Mechanistic Metaphorical Model.

6. The Structural Metaphorical Models

6.1. Order and Conflict Models of Migration.

6.2. Modernisation and Dependency Models

6.3. Modernisation Models of Migration.

6.4. Dependency Models of Migration.

7. The Semiotic Metaphorical Model.

1. The Language of Theory in Migration Discourse

The preceding chapter has tried to analyse some of the ways in which various researchers have sought to classify and to define the concept of "migration". As may be seen from the review of the taxonomic literature, there have been a number of different attempts to establish the conceptual boundaries of migration discourse. Although most of these attempts have sought to define the concept of "migration" in terms of some notion of "permanent movement", it is clear that the proliferation of definitions and classifications in migration discourse continue to reflect an underlying diversity of theoretical and methodological orientations. Such intellectual diversity may be seen as a direct consequence of the interdisciplinary nature of migration research and to this extent, it reflects a pattern of increasing academic specialisation.

The present chapter sets out to further examine the structure of migration discourse by focussing on some of the theoretical perspectives and conceptual frameworks which have been used to conceptualise and explain the phenomenon of migration. It has been the emergence of these different perspectives which have, perhaps above all else, contributed to the general intellectual diversity in the field of migration discourse.

As already noted in preceeding chapters, it is evident that for many observers, the field of migration discourse has often appeared as a collection of empirical facts largely devoid of any theoretical determination. Indeed, as we have already seen, recent contributors to this area have frequently lamented the absence of systematic theory from the research literature, and have endeavoured to initiate its development. Such a view of migration discourse only serves to perpetuate the myth that empirical facts are somehow "discovered" without recourse to theories. The purpose of this chapter, is to show how the taken-for-granted categories of empirical research have been constructed from a variety of different and sometimes conflicting theoretical and ideological perspectives.

2. The Metaphorical Content of Migration Discourse

Unlike most reviewers of the field, for whom migration discourse has appeared overwhelmingly empirical in content, we shall try to disclose some of the hidden, unexplicated theoretical perspectives contained in the language of migration research. Migration research consists of more than just a collection of descriptive studies devoid of any theoretical determination. In an important sense, every study undertaken in the area of migration is not only dependent upon a distinctive set of methodological practices, but also upon a distinctive world view. Unlike the methodological practices, however, which have remained a highly transparent element in research discourse, underlying world views and conceptual frameworks have frequently been overlooked, and this has lead to the mistaken impression that such influences are absent from the discourse of migration. This impression has been further strengthened by the presumed absence of "systematic theory" from the literature of migration research, and by the evidence of *ad hoc* and essentially unintegrated empirical studies. "Systematic theory", in this context, has come to refer to explicit theory, "theory which is officially acknowledged as theory", - those sets of statements which are explicitly defined as having a theoretical rather than an empirical function in the system of discourse. Such a definition does not, however, exhaust the meaning of the term "theoretical", and it will be shown that in the case of migration discourse many of the primary sources of theory are largely unacknowledged, and are concealed in the language of research.

Under these conditions, the task of revealing the sources of theoretical determination becomes analogous to the task of disclosing the structure of a scientific paradigm to the practitioners of a "normal science." It is necessary to get beneath the level of appearances—the prevailing factual discourse—in order to reveal the "deep structure" of theoretical assumptions which is often so taken-for-granted as to have become invisible to the scientific community.

The search for the theoretical contexts of migration discourse requires, at some point, a conceptual analysis of the empirical data languages of migration research. Such an analysis is necessary in order to explicate the system of concepts underlying the field of descriptive studies and within which particular sets of observation reports have been methodically produced.

The study of the languages in which scientific discourses are constructed is not, of course, unknown in philosophical investigations of scientific knowledge. However, many of the earlier investigations of such scientific fields as physics and mathematics, for example, restricted themselves to a study of the *logical* structure of these scientific languages. For this reason, there are relatively few studies which have focussed on the extra-logical elements of scientific discourse—or which have sought to uncover the hidden sources of theory and ideology in particular discursive fields. In this sense, the present study departs from earlier investigations of the language of science by its emphasis on the extra-logical elements of migration discourse, an emphasis which owes more, perhaps, to the traditions of literary and textual criticism than to conventional methods of philosophical or sociological analysis.

One of the more promising recent approaches to the study of scientific languages has succeeded in drawing attention to the *metaphorical* functions of observational and theoretical terms within systems of discourse. It is by analysing the metaphorical content of prevailing data languages that the presence of hidden theoretical and conceptual perspectives can often be detected. In those cases, such as migration and other demographic areas, in which the field of discourse in popularly perceived to be devoid of theoretical determinations, the method of metaphorical analysis remains one of the more effective ways of uncovering the surplus meanings of many observational terms, and of tracing these meanings to their explicit theoretical origins. In understanding the way in which a field of scientific discourse is constructed as a symbolic form, many writers have paid increasing attention to the role of metaphor. For the process of metaphorical conception is a basic mode of symbolism central to the way in which human communities structure their experiences and knowledge of the world in which they live.

Although traditionally, metaphor has been regarded as no more than a literary or descriptive device which produces creative effects through the crossing of images, today, the role of metaphor in scientific discourse has become increasingly apparent.

In general terms, metaphor has been shown to play an important part in the use of language, cognitive development and the way in which human communities structure conceptions about their reality, (Burke 1945, 1954; Jakobson and Halle, 1956; Ortony, 1979). More recently, further attention has also been given to the role played by metaphor in the development of science and social thought (Berggren, 1962, 1963; Black, 1962; Schon, 1979; Hesse, 1966), while Brown (1977) has provided an analysis of the influence of metaphor upon sociology. Recent studies by Morgan (1980) and Jones (1982) have further illustrated the importance of metaphors in the discourses of organizational theory and physics.

The study of the metaphorical content of scientific discourse as represented in the works of these different writers has contributed to a view of scientific inquiry as a creative-formative process in which scientists view the world metaphorically. This view emphasises the language and concepts through which scientific communities filter and structure their perceptions of their subject domains, as well as the specific metaphors through which they implicitly or explicitly choose to develop their analytic frameworks. In this chapter, we shall endeavour to show how the use of different descriptive metaphors in empirical migration research presupposes a number of different theoretical conceptions of the migration process.

In scientific discourse, as much as in the discourse of the Arts, the use of metaphor serves to generate an image used for studying a subject. This image can provide the basis for a detailed scientific research programme based upon attempts to discover the extent to which features of the metaphor may be found in the object of research. Much of the puzzle-solving activity of normal science is of this kind, with scientists attempting to examine, operationalise, and measure detailed implications of the metaphorical insight upon which their research is implicitly or explicitly based. The development of such a focus of inquiry necessarily entails a strong and somewhat irrational commitment to the image of the research object, for any single metaphorical insight provides, at best, only a partial and one-sided view of the phenomenon to which it is applied.

Both the usefulness and creative potential of the metaphor depend in large parts, upon the degree of difference exhibited between the subjects conceptualised in the metaphorical process. This point is aptly illustrated by Morgan (1980:611).

> For example a boxer may be described as a "tiger in the ring". In choosing the term, "tiger" we conjure up specific impressions of a fierce animal, moving at times with grace, stealth, power, strength and speed in aggressive acts directed at its prey. By implication the metaphor requires that the tiger's orange and black fur, four legs, claws, fangs, and deafening roar can be ignored in favour of an emphasis upon the characteristics that boxer and tiger have in common. *Metaphor is thus based upon but partial truth; it requires of its user a somewhat one-sided abstraction in which certain features are emphasized and other suppressed in a selective comparison.*

In the case of migration discourse, several dominant underlying metaphors have continued to exercise a significant influence on the construction of data languages and observation reports. Many of the key terms and expressions contained in the observation languages of migration research may be traced to *metaphorical* rather than to *literal* origins. Thus terms which originate as metaphorical or theoretical terms may through routine usage, become entrenched as observation terms. The taken-for-granted status of many observation terms has tended to obscure their origins as theoretical terms and to confirm as empirical indicators what are often, in reality, metaphorical concepts.

In his discussion of the role of metaphor in sociological discourse, Brown (1977: 77) distinguishes between a general definition and a more specialised definition of the concept of "metaphor."

> In the broadest sense, metaphor is seeing something from the viewpoint of something else, which means, ... that all knowledge is metaphoric...
>
> In the narrowest sense, metaphor can be understood as an illustrative device whereby a term from one level or frame of reference is used within a different level or frame."

According to Brown (1977:78) it is possible to further distinguish between three different types of metaphorical model, examples of which may be found among various fields of scientific and artistic discourse.

Perhaps the most common types of model to be found in social science discourse is that based on the *analogic* use of metaphor. The meaning of analogic models is established through the process of contrast and/or comparison. Images or concepts associated with traditional contexts of meaning may be redeployed in other nonfamiliar contexts. Thus, in the earlier example given, the image of "tiger" is transferred to the unfamiliar context of boxing discourse, where it functions to link two previously unrelated images. Analogic metaphors, therefore, and the models derived from them, articulate their meanings through the juxtaposition of hitherto unrelated images and concepts.

A second type of model found in various fields of discourse is that based upon the *iconic* use of metaphor. Iconic metaphors, unlike analogic metaphors, are largely self-referential. They do not depend for their meaning upon the transfer of images from other contexts; the metaphor resides within the image itself. Thus, in the context of the plastic arts, paintings and sculptures may be seen as examples of iconic metaphors while in science, mathematical formulae and other abstract systems of representation also function as iconic models. Unlike analogic models, therefore, which establish their meanings through expressing the relations between dissimilar images, iconic models establish their meanings in new synthetic images.

Finally, a more general type of metaphor may also be found in most fields fo discourse, one which provides the fundamental images and world views from which other metaphors and models are often derived. Brown (opcit:78) refers to this type of metaphor as a "*root* metaphor" in order to emphasise its elemental status within the system of discourse.[1] In sociological discourse, he suggests that five principal root metaphors may be identified:

(1) society seen as an organism

(2) society seen as a machine

(3) social conduct viewed as language

(4) social conduct viewed as drama

(5) social conduct viewed as game.

The "root metaphor", therefore, may be understood as part of the "deep structure" of discourse—the unarticulated theoretical assumptions and conceptual elements which subtly reproduce themselves in the observational categories and evidential bases of empirical data languages.

The study of the metaphorical figures of discourse provides an important intermediate level of analysis linking the puzzle-solving practices of empirical research with the more transcendental structures of paradigm world-views. In order to meaningfully examine the corpus of scientific writings in a field of discourse it is necessary to be able to uncover the core assumptions that characterise and define any particular world-view or "paradigm." It is our contention that different approaches to the study of migration represented in the literature of migration research are based upon the acceptance and use of different kinds of metaphor as a foundation for inquiry. The remainder of this chapter, therefore, will explore some of the underlying metaphors current in migration discourse, and examine their influences on the languages of observation and theory.

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[1] The concept of "root metaphor" was originally introduced by Stephen Pepper (1942). Howerver, the present usage represents a more precise definition of this concept.

3. The Generative Metaphors of Migration Discourse

We shall distinguish throughout this chapter between two different types of metaphor—the "generative metaphor" and the "thematic metaphor." Following from Brown (1977:78), our conception of "generative metaphor" owes much to the idea of "root metaphor" as "a fundamental image of the world from which models and illustrative metaphors may be derived." Generative metaphors may thus be understood as the foundation metaphors underlying a field of discourse upon which different traditions of theory and research are based. Because of their fundamental status, generative metaphors invariably function in normal scientific research as taken-for-granted elements within a system of discourse and, for this reason, are not normally the subjects of discussion or justification. Perhaps only at times of "crisis" in a research tradition are the generative metaphors of a field or discipline critically re-reamined (c.f. Kuhn, 1970). For the most part, however, they remain relatively "unconscious" elements of scientific discourse, and their influence on the practices of empirical research is rarely questioned.

"Thematic metaphors", on the other hand, are those metaphors which are normally used to organise and interpret the domain of "facts" generated through particular traditions of empirical research. Thematic metaphors may include both analogic and iconic figures of discourse, both of which are derived from the more fundamental images of generative metaphor. Following from Meadows (1980), therefore, our conception of "thematic metaphor" borrows heavily from his conception of "thematic strategy", which may be understood as a reference to those academic perspectives explicitly linked to particular traditions through research. In this respect, thematic metaphors are those relatively "conscious" elements of scientific discourse, which have more frequently been the focus of criticism and debate.

The discourse of migration can be divided and sub-divided in a variety of different ways. The very diversity of disciplinary approaches and levels of analysis presents a bewildering array of possibilities for the would-be analyst of the field. Indeed, as mentioned in previous chapters, the polycentric nature of migration discourse and the concomitant pluralism of methodologies and research traditions have also been blamed for the virtual absence of systematic theory. This point has been made by Meadows (1980:397).

> "It requires only a slight acquaintance with the field of immigration studies to understand quickly why theory construction does not predominate... The levels of analysis reflect sheer variety of perspectives: some studies are macroscopic, others microscopic; the whole and the parts, the general and the specific, the highly abstract and the very empirical, and above all the national and some cross-cultural all mingle in vast profusion."

Underlying the apparent complexity of migration discourse, however, are a series of metaphorical images which have provided the field with several different theoretical perspectives. Each of these metaphors necessarily presents a selective and partial view of migration based upon a distinctive set of assumptions which have resulted in different research topics, definitions, premises, data and even conclusions. In this sense, metaphors have remained crucial elements in the system of research discourse and have provided a conceptual inspiration for the concrete puzzle-solving practices associated with particular traditions of empirical migration research.

For the purpose of the present study, the following analysis proposes that the field of migration discourse may usefully be conceptualised as a continuum which extends from those metaphors which tend to emphasise an essentially "systemic" view of migration, to those metaphors which tend to emphasise a more "actor-oriented" view. It will be argued that such a division of the literature of migration research corresponds to an established distinction between the so-called "two sociologies"—the sociology of social system and the sociology of social action.

These two generative metaphors of migration may be further subdivided however, according to a fundamental epistemological polarity in which objectivistic views are distinguished from subjectivistic views of migration. Thus metaphors of migration may be classified in terms of, at least, two independent criteria; whether migration is viewed as a model of a social system, or as a model of social action; and whether these models are based on objective or subjective criteria of social behaviour.

Figure 9: Metaphors of Academic Migration Discourse

		thematic metaphors	
		subjective	objective
generative metaphors	social system	structuralist	mechanistic
	social action	semiotic	utilitarian

This conceptualisation is illustrated in Fig. 9, in which the metaphorical content of migration discourse is represented in a four cell table. It will be seen from this table that both of the *generative* metaphors of social system and social action may also be cross-tabulated with the objective and subjective epistemological coordinates, thus yielding four distinct types of thematic metaphors.

(1) mechanistic

(2) structuralist

(3) utilitarian

(4) semiotic

It is the thesis of this chapter that the above typology generally reflects the prevailing metaphorical content of migration discourse, and signifies, in part, some of the sources of theoretical determination which have hitherto passed largely unnoticed in many standard reviews of the migration research literature. The remainder of this chapter will focus in greater detail on these prevailing metaphors of migration and will try to assess their impact on the traditions of empirical research.

In his now widely know paper on "The Two Sociologies", Alan Dawe (1971), argued that the history of sociological theory could be read as an evolution of two alternative views of social reality: the sociology of social system-characterised by the problem of *order,* and sociology of social action-characterised by the problem of *control.* Each of these two perspectives or doctrines, according to Dawe, entails a distinctive body of judgments of fact and value, a social philosophy, as well as a system of concepts or general propositions. In other words, each of these two perspectives may be understood to contain a discrete set of assumptions regarding the theory and practice of sociological research.

Central to the social system perspective, according to Dawe, is the assumption that the study of social behaviour is not reducible to the study of individual behaviour. In order to explain social phenomena in terms of the structure of social relations, therefore, the social system perspective has relied upon a conceptual scheme which emphasises the externality, constraint, and autonomy of social reality. Indeed, the familiar concepts of "central value system", "structure", "function", "equilibrium" and "structural differentiation" have together contributed to a view of social reality in which, "to put it crudely, the actor is still on the receiving end of the system" (Dawe; 1971:544). Such a view has been consistently criticised for its "oversocialised conception of man", (Wrong, 1961), as well as for its underlying assumption of the importance of consensus in social relationships. Another consequence of the social system perspective, however, and one which has also been noted by Dawe, is the strong compatability of this metaphor with the methodological practices of the natural sciences. "Thus social systems can be conceptualised in terms of convenient analogies with natural-scientific system constructs" (Dawe:1971:545). In the case of migration research the "system" concept has received a number of different interpretations varying from socio-cultural to mechanistic metaphors. It is not difficult to see how the more mechanistic usages of the "system" metaphor in the discourse of empirical migration research have originated in the discourse of the physical sciences.

Unlike the system perspective, which presupposes the existence of the social system in order to explain human behaviour, the social action perspective presupposes the individual social actor in order to explain the social system. The social action perspective focuses more on the subjectivity and historicity of social action and advances an explanatory view which emphasises the rational and decision-making elements of human behaviour. In place of the systemic concepts of "structure" and "value", therefore, the social action perspective emphasises the concepts of "meaning" and "action", which are used to construct a view of actors defining their own situations, and managing these situations in terms of their definitions.

It is therefore, these two generative metaphors which underlie what Dawe has labelled, "the two sociologies."

> There are then, two sociologies: a sociology of social system and a sociology of social action... They posit antithetical views of human nature, of society and of the relationships between the social and the individual. The first asserts the paramount necessity, for societal and individual well being, of external constraint; hence the notion of a social system ontologically and methodologically prior to its participants. The key notion of the second is that of autonomous man, able to realise his full potential and to create a fully human social order only when freed from external constraint. Society is thus the creation of its members; the product of their construction of meaning, and of the action and relationships through which they attempt to impose that meaning on their historical situations.
>
> Dawe (1971:550-1)

While the impact of these two countervailing views of social reality has been well documented and analysed in the theoretical literature of sociology, their influence on more applied areas of social research has been relatively unexplored. However, it is not difficult to demonstrate in the case of migration research, that these two competing images of social reality have also entered into different conceptualisations of the migration process. In the overall structure of migration discourse, therefore, these two images of social reality have functioned essentially as generative metaphors which have represented the migration process both as migration—as—system and as migration-as-action. While other writers may have noted a continuum between "external objective" accounts, and "internal subjective" accounts of migration (for example, Meadows, 1980:398), the relationship of this continuum to the split between the "two sociologies" has hitherto remained unrecognised.

Much as in the case of sociological discourse, the generative metaphors of "system" and "action" in migration discourse have provided only *general* orientations to study of migration. Because of the implicit character of the metaphorical content of scientific discourse, especially empirical discourse, the metaphors of "system" and "action" have escaped the designation, "theoretical". This has not prevented them from functioning as theoretical perspectives, however, and in the case of migration discourse these metaphors have generated two contrasting frameworks for the study of migration.

In the literature of empirical migration research, the two generative metaphors of migration have formed the basis for several more specialised metaphorical conceptions of migration. These conceptions have been closely linked to the discourse of empirical research, and have often provided the observation categories in which the language of empirical research has been formulated. Derived from the generative metaphors which underlie the theoretical structure of migration discourse, these more specialised research metaphors signify an operationalisation of the metaphorical content of migration discourse. They may, for this reason, be designated "thematic metaphors", as they exemplify a series of different conceptual themes and methodological strategies which may be found in the thematic metaphors which have come to dominate the literature of empirical migration research.

4. The Thematic Metaphors of Migration Discourse

Thematic metaphors differ from the more fundamental generative metaphors of migration discourse in a number of important ways. Unlike generative metaphors which provide only highly generalised orientations to the domain of migration phenomena, thematic metaphors have grown more directly out of the research process. They represent an application of the generative metaphor to a particular tradition of empirical migration research, and for this reason, thematic metaphors tend to be more specialised and concrete figures of discourse than their generative counterparts. At the same time, however, thematic metaphors are derived from generative metaphors and should be understood as constructed images of a social reality which guide the research process, rather than as empirical reflections of a social reality which are "discoverable" through the research process.

In attempting to analyse the metaphorical content of migration discourse we are, of course, breaking with tradition. Most reviews have typically analysed the field of migration either according to the disciplinary orientation of migration studies, (c.f. Ritchley, 1976) or according to the substantive topics representative of migration research such as "the brain drain", "temporary migration," "illegal migration," "refugees", and so on (c.f. Peterson, 1978). Even in those cases where different "theoretical paradigms" have been explicitly compared, this has normally only involved two competing research traditions, and has rarely extended into any more general analysis and critique of the epistemological structure of migration discourse (c.f. Wood, 1982; Bach and Schraml, 1982). It is in its attempt to develop a more comprehensive account of migration discourse, therefore, that the present study departs from previous reviews of the field of migration.

In general terms, as previously indicated, the metaphorical content of migration discourse may usefully be viewed as a continuum extending from those metaphors of migration-as-system to those metaphors of migration-as-action. At the same time, however, both system-metaphors and action-metaphors may also be located on another continuum extending from objectively formulated to subjectively formulated metaphorical criteria. Thus, metaphors of migration may be distinguished in terms of their conceptual criteria: whether these are *systemic* or *voluntaristic* (action-oriented), and in terms of their methodological—epistemological criteria: whether *objective* or *subjective* indicators of the migration process are employed. Although there is a tendency for system-metaphors to employ objective measurement indicators, and for action-metaphors to employ subjective measurement indicators, this is not necessarily the case. Indeed, it is more convenient to assume the independence of these two sets of criteria and to examine each metaphorical case separately.

Following from the basic division of migration discourse into its major generative metaphors, several more specialised metaphorical figures can now be identified. These thematic metaphors have entered directly into the discourse of empirical research and have partially defined the conceptual and methodological character of this discourse. The thematic metaphors, therefore, represent an operationalisation of the generative metaphors and have, in this sense, been instrumental in generating particular traditions of migration research.

The amount of conceptual and methodological variance between contrasting metaphors of migration has long been underestimated by many reviewers of the field. Different metaphors of migration may presuppose radically different approaches to the study of migration in which, not only basic concepts, but essential criteria as to what counts as "datum" and "empirical" evidence may fail to be held in common. Indeed, when reviewing the field of migration discourse it is apparent that contrasting metaphorical traditions may even fail to agree between themselves on what constitutes "fact" and "theory". The implications of these metaphorical differences for the theoretical strategies and methodological practices of migration research are thus profound, and no adequate account of this field of research can afford to overlook them.

Recent attempts to compare different theoretical traditions of migration research have begun to focus on some of the epistemological discussions of migration discourse. Although many of these analyses have been motivated by a search for "paradigms" of migration theory, rather than "metaphors" of migration discourse, some of the observations regarding alleged paradigmatic differences in migration theory are clearly appropriate to the issues under present consideration. Thus in his discussion of the different approaches to the study of migration contained in each of an "equilibrium" and an "historical-structuralist" perspective, Wood (1982: 308-9) describes how such differences may even enter into the observation languages of the two perspectives:

> . . .the divergence between the two approaches is so profound that it often precludes the possibility of meaningful dialogue between the proponents of each view. It is therefore necessary to go well beyond the manifest differences between the two perspectives to understand the root causes of the growing discontinuity that characterise the contemporary literature on migration... ... it is important to note that the often sterile methodological debate between advocates of the respective approaches involves the basic epistemological relationship between fact and theory. That a "fact" assumes the status of a valid scientific observation only within a theoretical framework is an assumption widely endorsed by philosophers of science ... *Evidence produced by the methods accepted by practitioners in one framework does not constitute a counter-instance in the eyes of researchers wedded to another. This is because the information itself fails to qualify as a "scientific" observation at all.* For example, empirical results of a microeconomic analysis of individual migrants are dismissed as trivialities by those in the structuralist school ... Likewise, critics of the structural approach reject historical data on class and class conflict as metaphysical concerns, or as the domain of another discipline, or as a set of issues that are just too problematic to be worth the effort to consider. In the words of the tired phrase, "The data

do not speak for themselves." (emphasis supplied)

From our perspective, however, many of the effects alluded to in this description have been produced not so much by differences of "paradigms"—for which there appears to be no standard definition—but by differences of "metaphor." It has been through the metaphorical content of scientific discourse that terms intended as neutral terms of observation and description have been loaded with implicit and unacknowledged theoretical meanings. In the domain of migration research, therefore, much of which has traditionally been classified as an a-theoretical and predominantly empirical field of discourse, the search for the hidden theoretical parameters of discourse becomes a search for the undetected metaphorical functions of language.

The remainder of this chapter will examine three of the four main metaphorical models of migration discourse, and will attempt to compare these models in terms of their essential conceptual and methodological assumptions.[2] It should, of course, be noted that the following classification of metaphorical models is a considerable oversimplification of the actual diversity of approaches represented in migration research. However, such oversimplification is justified in this case as the necessary price to be paid for providing a metaphorical reading of migration discourse at a time when the conceptual apparatus for doing this effectively is far from fully developed.

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[2] Owing to limitations of space and time, we have restricted the present discussion to a comparison of the *systemic* and *semiotic* metaphors of migration research. We have, therefore, omitted from this study any further reference to the differences between semiotic and utilitarian metaphorical models.

5. The Mechanistic Metaphorical Model.

Many of the early attempts to formalise the languages of theory and observation in migration discourse were strongly influenced by examples drawn from the physical sciences. Thus the study of human migration was initially viewed as analogous to the study of physical motion. Indeed, the mechanistic—kinetic model which had first explained the laws of motion governing physical objects in time and space later reappeared in migration discourse as a metaphorical model designed to explain the laws of human population movement.

With its initial appearance in migration discourse, the mechanistic-kinetic model generated a highly determinate language of vectors and volumes in which the study of human migration was effectively reduced to the search for laws governing the physical mobility of human populations through time and space. Underlying this mechanistic model of migration was an essentially Newtonian conception of the social universe in which the laws of human motion were expected to operate with all the regularity displayed by inanimate objects within a physical field. Meadows (1980:404) has identified some of the main features of the Newtonian model which were later transposed to the study of human migration (c.f. also, Dijksterhuis, 1959):

> The Newtonian conception of forces, according to which every particle tends to approach every other particle in the universe, was formally expressed in the law of gravitation, which held that every body or portion of matter attracts or is attracted directly as to the quantity of matter, and inversely as to the square of its distance from the attracting body. This conception of acting at a distance was transliterated from Newtonian physics to the social sciences, which developed a vision of the social universe on which human beings as objects are impacted by forces in a field acting upon them at a distance. The gravitational model became a social physics.

This approach to the study of migration gained some currency in the work of one particular demographer around the turn of the century who sought (as previously noted in Chapter 2) to explain the human propensity for migration in terms of a series of general "Laws of Migration". However, although Ravenstein's observations on human migration were published under the title of "Laws of Migration," they exhibited none of the logical rigour of physical laws, and resembled Newtonian propositions only in their form of presentation. In this respect, Ravenstein's formulations appear to be based on a metaphorical understanding of the Newtonian model rather than on any attempt at literal translation of this model into the field of migration discourse. For as Lee(1969:282) records, none of Ravenstein's contemporary reviewers believed that he had succeeded in formulating deterministic scientific laws and even Ravenstein, himself, disavowed any comparison with the laws of physics.

In fact, what Ravenstein offered was a series of generalisations based on his own observations of the migration process and his understanding of the social and economic determinants of this process. Although these generalisations have none of the logical rigour of physical laws, it is apparent that their form of presentation owes something to the Newtonian laws of motion. Ravenstein's "Laws", therefore, as found in his first paper and extended and amended in his second paper, are summarised in his own words.

Ravenstein's Laws of Migration After Lee (1969: 283)

(1) *Migration and distance:*

a. The great body of our migrants only proceed a short distance and migrants enumerated in a certain center of absorption will ... grow less [as distance from the center increases].

b. Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centers of commerce and industry.

(2) *Migration by stages:*

c. There takes place consequently a universal shifting or displacement of the population which produces "currents of migration" settling in the direction of the great centres of commerce and industry which absorb the migrants.

d. The inhabitants of the country immediately surrounding a town of rapid growth flock into it; the gaps thus left in the rural population are filled up by migrants from more remote districts, until the attractive force of one of our rapidly growing cities makes its influences felt, step by step, to the most remote corner of the kingdom.

e. The process of dispersion is the inverse of that of absorption, and exhibits similar features.

(3) *Stream and counterstream:*

Each main current of migration produces a compensating countercurrent. (In modern terminology, stream and counter-stream have been substituted for Ravenstein's current and counter-current).

(4) *Urban rural differences in propensity to migrate:*

The natives of towns are less migratory than those of the rural parts of the country.

(5) *Predominance of females among short-distance migrants:*

Females appear to predominate among short-journey migrants.

(6) *Technology and migration:*

Does migration increase? I believe so!...

Whenever I was able to make a comparison I found that an increase in the means of locomotion and a development of manufactures and commerce have led to an increase of migration.

(7) *Dominance of the economic motive:*

Bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion (slave trade, transportation), all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to "better" themselves in material respects.

It is, therefore, only on a metaphorical level that the parallels between Ravenstein's "Laws" of migration and Newton's Laws of Motion may be detected. And even these are of a highly general nature, including the references to streams and counter-streams which bear some superficial resemblance in formulation to the Third Law of Motion.

Further attempts to model the analysis of human population movement on the physical laws of motion followed the early formulations of Ravenstein. One of the more explicit uses of the Newtonian metaphor can be found in the work of the astronomer-turned demographer, John Q. Stewart. Stewart (1948) believed that the Newtonian equations could be used to analyse the demographic structure of society and by substituting N, as the number of people involved, whenever the quantity "mass" appeared in the original equations, Stewart derived measures of such concepts as "demographic energy" and "demographic potential". Stewart's work in this area encouraged later studies of the "dimensional analysis" of spatial interaction, which was taken up by other researchers.

However, the greatest impact of the mechanistic metaphor has come through the conceptual imagery contained in this model, which has been progressively assimilated into the discourse of migration. In this respect, the major contribution of the Newtonian model has been its conception of a relational point of view, that is, a field theory of causation. Thus for Newton, the concept of "gravitation" was defined as a relationship between a falling body and the earth, rather than as something inherent in the falling object. It was this conception that later lead to the definition of an "equilibrium" state in terms of opposed forces (or processes) moving at an equal rate and together constituting a unity which could be defined as a system, or a field. In such a system, action and reaction are so nearly synonymous that they cannot be described separately. It is this condition of interdependent forces which remains essential to the definition of a *system* or *field*.

From this conception of a physical system, or field, it is not too difficult to conceive of an analogous field of social interaction in which opposing streams of human migration are seen to constitute an overall unity, or state of equilibrium. As Meadows (1980: 404) remarks, "it is no great analogical leap to think of origin and destination as constituting such a field."

This application of the "field" conception to the study of the migration process has lead to the conceptualisation of "stocks and flows" of people which, although initially applied to internal migration research, has also been used in the study of international migration (c.f. O'Rourke 1972). In most of these studies, as Ritchley (1976:367) observes, it is generally assumed that stocks (of people) equal the flows (of people) within the observational period. Indeed, the equilibrium of supply and demand within the observational period, appears to be a general assumption underlying most models of labor mobility. It is an assumption, moreover, that is not normally seen in need of empirical justification, that is, in terms of observed cases, but seems to stand as a basic theoretical presupposition of an otherwise unacknowledged mechanistic metaphor.

The equilibrium model of migration, which is derived from the mechanistic-kinetic metaphor of physical motion, has contributed to the development of a number of different traditions of migration research. The concepts of "push" and "pull", for example, which have remained so fundamental to the vocabulary of migration discourse, may be traced to a generalised conception of equilibrium. It is a conception which, as Bach and Schraml (1982:322) remind us, predated the more specialised micro-economic form of equilibrium theory. In its earlier forms, as exemplified for example in the work of Amos Hawley (1950), push-pull theory constituted a "generalised conceptual umbrella" for the analysis of migration, and only in recent years has the concept "equilibrium" been taken over by more specialised research traditions with narrower definitions of the concept.

Today, the legacy of the generalised push-pull model may be seen in a number of different approaches, each of which has reconceptualised the mechanistic metaphor to meet the needs of more specialised orientations to the study of migration. Thus, the "field" of migration may be conceptualised as a spatial (or spatial-temporal) system, with some force (not necessarily specified) impelling movement, and distances operating as one of several frictions, and with the resultant paths noted on either abstract plane or a map of a particular area. As Peterson (1978 : 555) notes,

> Such models are almost closer to physics than to the social sciences; such concepts a "gravitation" and "field" are borrowed, and there is a propensity to use moderately sophisticated mathematics in the analysis.

Perhaps the most explicit use of the Newtonian metaphor to be made in migration research was that of George Zipf (1946) in his construction of a "gravity model" of migration; and much subsequent research in this tradition has followed in his footsteps.

In addition to purely spatial-temporal formulations, however, the mechanistic metaphor has found its greatest scope of application in models of migration which combine spatial with economic criteria. Over the past decade or more, the rise of the neo-classical economic model has resulted in a progressive reduction of the "equilibrium" approach to that associated with neo-classical theory. The earlier generality of the concepts of "push" and "pull" has increasingly been replaced with more narrowly formulated definitions of these concepts in the specialised language of neo-classical economics. This transformation in the discourse of equilibrium has been noted by Barnum and Sabot (1976:10).

> the approach that divides factors influencing the decision to migrate into those that "push" individuals out of rural areas and those that "pull" them into the urban areas is frequently only a crude version of human capital theory. To say that push factors are strong is roughly equivalent to stating that the opportunity costs of migration are low.

In general terms, the classical competitive model of factor mobility, which underlies most labor migration studies, presumes that migration from one area to another will only occur so long as the average wage in the second area is greater than in the first. Population movement, therefore, is still conceptualised as an equilibrium, but one which responds to specifically economic criteria. In the words of Berry and Schwind 1969 (in Meadows, 1980:405) migration is conceived as,

> an equilibrating mechanism, redistributing population (labor, human capital) in response to inequalities in the distribution of social and economic opportunities.

This conception of equilibrium represents a highly idealised model of social reality in which the 'perfect' redistribution of population is dependent upon a number of initial premises including, for example,

(1) that migrants desire to maximise income.

(2) that information about employment opportunities is perfect.

(3) that workers are equal and alike in skills and preferences.

(4) that there are no barriers to mobility.

The validity of these premises has frequently been challenged by critics of the neo-classical model who have continued to view them as arbitrary and unsupported theoretical presuppositions as well as ideological rationalisations for the economic status quo. However, on its own terms, the model has contributed to our understanding of a number of basic relationships within the field of migration including, for example, the inverse relationships between distance and migration (because of transportation costs); the positive relationship between migration and measures of industrial similarity (where income is maximised by movements through which the worker can work at his old job); the role of migration information in the distribution of migration, and so on.

One of the classic studies of distance as a major dimension of mobility was conducted by Stouffer (1940) who showed that a migrant stream from one region to another was inversely related to the number of opportunities between the first region and the second. These studies have demonstrated that fully operationalised definitions of "social distance" tend to be superior to simple definitions of "physical distance" in explaining geographic mobility.

Even from this brief review, therefore, it is evident that the neo-classical model has continued to employ a concept of "equilibrium" in its analysis of labor migration. In this respect, the economic concept of "equilibrium" functions as a theoretical term rather than as an empirical indicator. It is through the mechanics of migration (of labor and capital) that a state of equilibrium is expected to result. However, as Wood (1982:304) observes, this final state "remains a condition that is expected to come about at some unspecified point in the long run". That an economy tends to move toward equilibrium as a result of migration must, therefore, be regarded as an article of faith.

In its essentials, the neo-classical model constitutes another application of the mechanistic metaphor in the discourse of migration. And although the concept of the "market" replaces the more general concept of "push" and "pull" in this model, it is evident that both sets of concepts signify an analogous underlying mechanism of equilibrium. In this respect, both models imply a system of forces over which individual actors exercise little, if any, conscious control. Indeed, the ideal typical characteristics of the economic actors which as indicated above, underlie the neo-classical model, are characteristics derived from a highly mechanistic and deterministic conception of social reality.

> Some attention has been paid to the migrant as an economic actor in the migration field; as such, however, he has been endowed with properties which make it possible for him to be fitted into the mechanistic interpretive mode of action, properties which largely conform to the classical economic concept of the human being, such as rationality, desire to maximise gain (benefits over disbenefits), and so on. Meadows (1980: 405)

In general terms, therefore, the influence of the mechanistic metaphor may be seen in a number of different traditions of migration research. This influence can be detected in a variety of geographic, economic, and demographic studies of migration. In many of these studies, there has been a marked tendency for researchers to portray the individual migrant as a passive object of countervailing forces. Under these conditions the migrant is invariably defined within a "field", or a "system", of relations which is presumably regulated through an underlying mechanism of equilibrium. In terms of the mechanistic metaphor, therefore, migrants are described almost exclusively as physical objects without references to their intentional states, or to their historical or cultural backgrounds. These properties of the mechanistic metaphor (as was noted earlier in Chapter 4) have been aptly summarised by Abu-Lughod (1976 : 201) in a critical review of migration research literature.

> Once upon a time we understood—or thought we did—the causes of migration, the uniformities and patterns of migratory movements, and the social and personal consequences of geographic mobility both for the movers and the units into which they moved. Whether described in terms of a mathematical "gravity-flow" model on the geographic level, in terms of a "push-pull" model on the economic level, or in terms of a psychic cost 'adaptation' model on the sociopsychological level, the resulting picture was reassuringly simple. Human beings like iron filings, were impelled by forces beyond their conscious control and, like atoms stripped of their cultural and temporal diversity, were denied the creative capacity to innovate and shape the worlds from which and into which they moved.

In terms of the classification already proposed, it is clear that mechanistic conceptions of migration fall predominantly at the deterministic pole of the metaphorical continuum of social action and social system. Mechanistic metaphors give priority to the concept of "system" in their accounts of migration and tend to define the migrant in highly objectivistic terms as the passive agent of deterministic social and economic forces. Other metaphors of migration are distanced in varying degrees from the mechanistic pole depending upon their conceptual content, some falling at the opposite end of the continuum, others somewhere in the middle. As in all such classifications, however, typological differences are primarily conceived as relative differences of degree rather than as absolute differences of kind, thus allowing for a range of intermediate types within the continuum.

Examples may be found, therefore, of studies in which the mechanistic metaphor has been pushed beyond its traditional limits towards more voluntaristic conceptions of migration. Such studies may be defined as "transitional" inasmuch as they provide linkages between the systemic and action-oriented metaphors.

Thus, after reviewing Ravenstein's famous "Laws" of migration, Lee (1969) has attempted to formulate a more general theory of migration based on a series of eighteen related hypotheses. These metaphors are derived from three classes of factors which include:

(1) volume of migration

(2) stream and counterstream

(3) characteristics of migration.

However, unlike Ravenstein, who conceived of population movement in much the same terms as physical motion, as a closed system, or field, of equilibrating forces. Lee's conception of human migration is somewhat less deterministic and reductionist. In his analysis of the migration process, Lee points out that the classically conceived system of equilibrating forces is normally disturbed by a number of "intervening obstacles" which may include such factors as "immigration policy restrictions", "personal factors", and so on. The field of human migration, therefore, cannot be reduced to a simple calculus of countervailing forces at the origin and destination of the migration process, whether these are demographic push-pull forces, or economic forces of the market. In Lee's view, the analysis of migration must also include some reference to the impact of "intervening obstacles" which may disturb the equilibrium tendencies of population movement.

> While migration may result from a comparison of factors at origin and destination, a simple calculus of +'s and -'s does not decide the act of migration. The balance in favour of the move must be enough to overcome the natural inertia which always exists. Furthermore, between every two points there stands a set of intervening obstacles which may be slight in some instances and insurmountable in others.
> (Lee 1969:287).

It is important to note, moreover, that several of these "intervening obstacles" are defined in subjective terms which go beyond the frame of reference of the classical mechanistic-kinetic metaphor. In this respect, therefore, Lee's contribution may be seen as an example of a transitional metaphorical account of the migration process which moves from a purely mechanistic to a more semiotic descriptive mode.

Another example of a transitional metaphorical account of migration is found in a study by Kunz (1963) of contemporary refugee movements. In this study Kunz distinguishes between two different types of refugee movements: "anticipatory" and "acute" movements. Anticipatory refugees movements, according to Kunz, conform largely to an "equilibrium" model of free migration analysis, although instead of a push-pull model, he refers to a "push-permit" model in order to emphasise the reduced importance of pull factors. On the other hand, "acute" refugee movements are largely determined by "push" factors which tend to distort the classical equilibrium model. Kunz suggests that there are a number of different possible patterns of refugee movement which may be conceptualised as variations upon the classical equilibrium model. He thus proposes three possible adjustment patterns in the situations of contemporary refugee movements which he designates:

(1) Push-press-plunge

(2) Push-pressure-stay

(3) Push-pressure-return.

While analysing these types of movement within a relatively mechanistic model of migration, (indeed, he even refers to the concept of "refugee kinetics") Kunz demonstrates, at the same time, how the mechanistic metaphor is inadequate to deal with the variety of different types of population movement. His analysis thus indicates the necessity of incorporating some semiotic factors into any adequate account of "refugee kinetics." In this sense, Kunz's study may also be seen as a further example of a transitional application of the mechanistic metaphor.

6. The Structural Metaphorical Models.

Although the mechanistic model may be viewed as one of the controlling metaphors of migration discourse, it is not, of course, the only metaphor to have generated traditions of migration research. Indeed, it could be argued that the primacy once enjoyed by the mechanistic metaphor has considerably declined in recent times along with the growth of alternative traditions of migration research which have sprung from different metaphorical conceptions of the migration process.

In terms of the classification proposed in this study, the mechanistic conception of migration represents one pole of a metaphorical continuum which extends from those conceptualisations of migration-as-system to those of migration-as-action. However, not all conceptualisations of migration-as-system can be directly reduced to the mechanistic model. Whereas the mechanistic model represents a highly objectivistic formulation of the system-metaphor, in which migrants are viewed as analogous to physical objects moving within an equilibrating force field, other formulations of the system-metaphor have included, in varying degrees, references to the semiotic dimensions of the migration process. Thus, the fact that migration is viewed systemically does not necessarily preclude an account of the subjective and motivational aspects of migration-as-action.

It is in this sense, that structural formulations of the system-metaphor may be said to fall somewhere between the two metaphorical poles on the continuum of "system" and "action". Unlike mechanistic formulations which have tended to view the migrant as a totally determined object of "objective" social forces, structuralist accounts have, to a greater extent, tended to view the migrant more as an active subject in the migration process.

At the same time, structural models of migration analysis, like their mechanistic counterparts, are also derived from the generative metaphor of migration-as-system. For this reason, they share many of the attributes of the system model, including the assumption of the ontological (and epistemological) priority of the social system (of migration) to the social actor (the migrant).

However, whereas the mechanistic model is based on a "machine" analogy of migration analysis, structural models, inasmuch as they retain a socio-cultural definition of the concept of "structure" remain based on a more "organic" analogy. In many ways, of course, both applications of the system-metaphor tend to relegate the social actor to a dependent status within a deterministic set of physical or social relationships. However, as Buckley (1967) and others have observed, organic applications differ from mechanical applications of the system-metaphor in a variety of ways. Thus, one of the more important distinctions between mechanistic and organistic analogies may be seen in the fact that whereas mechanical systems are normally assumed to exist in a closed, equilibrating steady-state, organic systems are often assumed to be capable of (evolutionary) growth and transformation.

However, depending upon the type of organic model employed, the source of system change and transformation may either be external or internal. Different writers have variously dichotomised (what are in effect) organic models of the sociocultural system according to how such models explain the process of system change and conflict. Thus Van Den Berghe (1963), for example, differentiates between "structural-functionalist" and "dialectical" models of the social system, while Buckley (1967) distinguishes between "equilibrium", "homeostatic" and "process" models.

Although there are other criteria which could also be used to contrast organic with mechanical applications of the system-metaphor, such as the (often unstated) assumptions of organic system "needs"; the mutual interrelationship of organic system parts; the primacy of the total organic system over the sum of its parts; and the teleological assumption of organic system "goals" it is, perhaps, their propensity for growth and transformation which most sharply demarcate organic from mechanical analogies of "system".

In the discourse of migration, structuralist interpretations of the system-metaphor may be classified in a number of different ways, (c.f. Meadows 1980). Thus, in most structuralist accounts, the concept of "structure" is empirically defined as that set of *social* relations within which the process of migration is analysed. However, another more formal definition of the concept of "structure" implies a set of *logical* relations within which the migration process is analysed. Although largely unknown in the literature of migration research, this latter concept of "structure" corresponds to that popularised by writers of the "structuralist" tradition. In this study, however, we shall restrict our concern to the empirical definition of "structure", and to its function in migration discourse.

A further distinction may also be drawn between "external" and "internal" structuralist accounts of the migration process. "External" accounts of migration refer to the study of macroscopic systems of social relationships, whether these are defined in global, national or regional terms. For the most part, external structuralist accounts have focussed on the international context of migration and have analysed the relationships of host to donor societies, as well as selected characteristics of the population flows between them. Internal structuralist accounts, on the other hand, have focussed more on the adaptation of immigrants to particular host societies and have often emphasised the structural problems experienced by immigrants in regard to their differential access to such strategic resources as employment, education, housing and social justice.

Thus, whereas external structural accounts have traditionally dealt with the international socio-cultural, or political-economic structures in which population transfers have occurred, internal accounts have tended to analyse the status of migrants within the more localised structures of either host or donor societies. In practice, however, it is often difficult to draw a sharp distinction between these two types of structuralist accounts, for most case-studies of particular host or donor societies have also had important implications for understanding international migration flows (c.f. Paine 1974, Peterson 1955, Marshall 1973).

Unlike the mechanistic accounts already discussed, structuralist accounts of migration have normally been oriented to the study of empirical social relations, rather than to spatial, or spatio-temporal relations. In this respect, structuralist accounts have invariably defined the migration process as a socio-cultural, or politico-economic process in which the migrant participates as a conscious social actor. However, in many structuralist accounts, the semiotic dimensions of the social act of migration are often outweighted by the heavy systemic emphasis given to the structural determinants of the migration process. In general, therefore, while avoiding the total systemic determinism of those mechanistic accounts, which relegate the migrant to the status of a passive object within an equilibrating force field, most structuralist accounts remain based on systemic rather than on semiotic metaphorical criteria. Again, however, it should be emphasised that such distinctions are often matters of degree, for in the case of economic studies of migration for example such studies may range from the highly mechanistic accounts of "stocks and flows", to more structural interpretations of the relationship between migration and socio-economic development.

In addition to distinguishing between the criteria of empirical/formal and internal/external, structuralist accounts may also be classified in terms of their theoretical content. Given the diversity of theoretical interpretations contained in structuralist accounts of migration, classifying them is no easy matter. Thus, internal structuralist accounts of the adaptation of immigrants have normally been conceived by sociologists as part of the literature of race and ethnic relations research.

At least three major theoretical perspectives are currently represented in the research literature of minority group relations in some combination or another. These have been variously described as the "assimilationist", "pluralist", and "conflict" models of intergroup relations, (c.f. Leggon, 1979; Clairmont and Wien, 1976; Gordon, 1964; Anderson and Frideres, 1980; Lieberson, 1961; Newman 1973). Each of these perspectives is based upon a different set of theoretical assumptions regarding the structure of minority group relations within complex plural societies. In general terms, structural accounts of intergroup relations in multicultural societies range from the relatively optimistic "assimilation" perspectives, which invariably assume the ultimate integration of minority groups into a fully homogenised social and cultural order, to the more pessimistic "conflict" perspectives which assume, by way of contrast, that inter-ethnic relations in capitalistic and post-colonial societies will continue to be characterised by long term problems of conflict and inequality.

In view of the limitations of time and space, we have been obliged in this review to conflate external with internal structuralist accounts of the process of migration. While this may be acceptable at the level of generality provided in this analysis of migration discourse, any more detailed account of the theoretical literature of migration would undoubtedly require some further differentiation between the literature of migrant adaptation to new societies, and the literature of population transfer between societies.

6.1. Order Versus Conflict Models of Migration

In general, macrostructural theories of migration may be classified in terms of the conventional division in social theory between "order" (or "consensus") models, and "conflict" models of social relations, (c.f., for example, Horton, 1966; Van den Berge, 1963; Dahrendorf, 1959). While different theoretical perspectives may also be identified in terms of their disciplinary orientations, whether sociological, politico-economic anthropological, etc., the general dichotomisation of "order" and "conflict" models of social relations appears to underly most structuralist approaches to the study of the migration process.

In a paper dealing largely with sociological theories of migration, Richmond and Verma (1978) have contrasted, what they term, "functionalist" and "neomarxist" theoretical perspectives. According to Richmond and Verma, functionalist theories of migration are distinguished by the fact that they tend to view the process of migration as an essentially *voluntary* act, undertaken to escape the social costs of overpopulation, unemployment and poverty, and to achieve the social benefits associated with improved working conditions and better opportunities for social and educational advancement. However, in addition to the voluntary nature of the act of migration, functionalist theories have also assumed the existence of a *common value system* into which immigrant groups are progressively assimilated. Notwithstanding the problems of prejudice and inequality that have characterised interethnic relations in many plural societies, functional theories continue to presuppose the inevitable assimilation of immigrants into industrialised host societies on the basis of an assumed consensus over the social ideals of democratic rights of citizenship.

> The functionalist approach, however, envisaged the gradual improvement of economic and social status and eventual political integration into a welfare oriented society in which citizenship rights were accorded to all... Although the system was perceived as competitive and hierarchical, it assumed that there was equality of opportunity although the achievement of this goal might be prevented by the illegitimate practice of racial and ethnic discrimination.
>
> Richmond and Verma (1978:4).

In this respect, therefore, functionalist, as well as other macrostructural theories of migration go beyond the simpler conceptualisations of the more mechanistic interpretations of the system metaphor. Migrants are no longer portrayed simply as demographic actors within an equilibriating force field, or as economic *homunculi,* determined by the relationship of supply and demand forces within the international labor market. For functionalist theories, migration is viewed as an essentially socio-cultural process brought about not only by rational decision-making process, but by a variety of other subjective and evaluative action orientations. At the same time, however, it should not be forgotten that functionalist theories have incorporated much of the legacy of the mechanistic models into a language of social systems analysis. To this extent, perhaps, it could be argued that functional theories have come to represent more "sociologised" interpretations of the system metaphor.

It should perhaps also be emphasised that "order", or "consensus," models of migration do not represent homogenous theoretical or methodological orientations. The general class of "order" perspectives includes a range of macrostructural models of migration which may combine elements not only from the functionalist, but also from the economic equilibrium as well as from the demographic push-pull models. In this sense, therefore, the conception of an order perspective should be understood as a composite model made up of elements taken from various metaphorical sources.

In contrast to the order perspective, however, conflict interpretations of the migration process have tended to emphasise the relatively *involuntary* character of many types of large scale population transfer. These have included not only the clearly defined cases of refugee movement, but also other forms of "free migration" which have taken place under a variety of macrostructural imperatives. Thus conflict interpretations have drawn attention to the historical role of conquest and colonisation in the process of international migration, and to the role of primitive accumulation and displacement of rural population in the process of internal migration. (c.f. Blauner 1972).

Unlike the consensus models, therefore, which have reduced the process of migration to the rational economic or demographic decisions of *individual* actors, within a social calculus of costs and benefits, conflict interpretations of migration have focussed on the dependent status of *social groups*, whether these are defined as social classes, nationalities, or ethnic and racial minorities, within systems of unequal power relations.

The opposition of "order" and "conflict" approaches thus represents an important division in structuralist accounts of migration, one which can be shown to have methodological as well as theoretical consequences. Examples of these contrasting approaches may be drawn from a variety of different structuralist accounts of migration, ranging from microstructural studies of minority group relations in host societies, to macrostructural studies of the politico-economic determinants of large scale international population transfers. In these and other examples, consensus interpretations of the migration process are distinguished from more conflict-oriented interpretations not only by a different set of theoretical assumptions and basic concepts, but often by different methodological strategies. Thus, whereas many functionalist studies have continued to rely on, what may perhaps best be described as "formal analytic" models of migration—based upon relatively "static" economic, spatial or attitudinal cross-sectional data, conflict-oriented studies have more generally been characterised by an historical and comparative approach to the study of internal migration.

The opposition of order and conflict orientations to the study of migration is best illustrated with some examples drawn from two contemporary research traditions based upon what may, perhaps, be termed, the "modernisation" and the "dependency" perspectives. While neither of these perspectives is fully homogenous, they do represent alternative applications of the structuralist metaphor to the study of international migration, each of which is premised upon a different set of theoretical assumptions with correspondingly different policy implications. We shall, therefore, briefly review both perspectives and examine the significance of each for the theoretical discourse of migration.

6.2. Modernisation and Dependency Models

The starting point for both the "modernisation" and the "dependency" perspectives of migration is the international system within which the process of migration takes place. Both perspectives are concerned, therefore, not with the abstract movement of population flows reduced to the elemental [illegible] coordinates of time and space, nor the highly abstract microecono[illegible] rational decision-making characteristics of more systemic approaches, but with the movement of real people within concrete international systems. As Meadows (1980:400) has observed, theory-construction on such a macroscopic scale is invariably structural in nature, that is, it is primarily concerned with the identification of structural elements and structural relationships. In this sense, both modernisation and dependency perspectives may be seen as examples of macrostructural accounts of the migration process.

Both of these perspectives, therefore, fall somewhere between the end points on the continuum of migration-as-system, and migration-as- action, thereby avoiding some of the more pronounced problems associated with the determinism of systemic metaphors and the voluntarism of semiotic metaphors.

The emergence of these two contrasting structural approaches to the study of migration is a direct outgrowth of the debate between "liberal" models of modernisation and development and more "radical" models of dependency and underdevelopment which have dominated the discourse of international development studies over the past twenty years. The more recent emergence of this debate in migration studies testifies to the evident linkages which connect scholars working in allied areas of research, and also shows how conceptual schema and theoretical problematics established in one field of discourse may influence the theoretical development of other fields.

One of the earliest and perhaps the most celebrated statements of the opposition between the modernisation and dependency perspectives is that contained in a critique of academic models of international development provided by Andre Gunder Frank (1967). In this and other writings, Frank has criticised orthodox models of international development for their failure to locate the causes of present underdevelopment in the historical and structural relationships which have existed between developed and underdeveloped nations. According to Frank, and others writing from Marxian and neo-Marxian perspectives (e.g. Baran 1957; Frank 1967: Portes 1978; Wallerstein 1974), the process of social and economic development characteristic of the advanced industrial nations is integrally related to the process of underdevelopment characteristic of "underdeveloped" or "less developed nations". Development and underdevelopment, in this sense, may be understood as different sides of the same coin; it is through the process of capital accumulation on a world scale that the affluent countries have effected their development at the expense of less developed countries. According to the dependency perspective, or more properly, set of perspectives—, the process of underdevelopment may be seen as a result of the condition of dependency into which the less developed "peripheral" regions have fallen in their relations with the developed "core" nations of the world capitalist system. Among the most commonly cited criteria of such dependency are the following structural indicators (Hagen 1980: 96-97):

a. a heavy penetration of foreign capital

b. the use of advanced, foreign, capital-intensive technologies in a relatively small industrial sector;

c. specialisation in exports of primary commodities or labor-intensive manufactures;

d. elite consumption patterns determined by those of the advanced countries;

e. "unequal exchange" in various senses.

While dependency theories, along with other marxian and neo-Marxian theories of international development, have tended to explain the underdevelopment of peripheral regions primarily in terms of *external* factors, modernisation theories have focussed more directly on the *internal* conditions of less developed nations, and the requirements for their modernisation. The process of development, according to modernisation theoriests, therefore, is largely determined by the introduction of new ideas into a traditional social system which lead to the development of more modern methods of production and to "improved" forms of social organization. Development is thus seen as the outcome of a transition from traditional to modern forms of socio-economic organisation, and the relative "success" of this development is measured by such conventional macroeconomic indicators as per capita income, employment and investment rates, GNP, and so on. Much of the modernisation literature of international development, therefore, has been concerned with formulating strategies to bring about the structural transition of traditional socio-economic systems. (c.f. Bernstein, 1971; Dore, 1966; Hagen, 1962; Lerner, 1958).

As many critics have pointed out, the concept of "modernisation" which underlies most modernisation theories is often implicitly equated to Western models of modernisation. The process of modernisation, therefore, particularly in the eyes of its critics, is often understood to mean "Westernisation", and for this reason, modernisation theories have been much criticised for their heavily ethnocentric assumptions and policy implications.

In the sociological literature of international development, there have been a number of different theories of modernisation which have, at various times, exercised some influence on sociological accounts of migration. Prominent among these during the early 1960's was the "Stages of Economic Growth" theory proposed by W.W. Rostow (1960). According to this theory, the transition from traditional to modern socio-economic systems may be represented as a series of pre-determined stages through which all societies must inevitably evolve. These stages extend from an initially static traditional stage, followed by the stage in in which the preconditions for economic growth are established, the take-off stage, the drive to maturity, and the final stage of high mass consumption. Each of these stages is seen as a pre-condition for the next stage, and the theory, therefore, constitutes a linear model of development. Criticisms of this stage-theory have been numerous, however, and are well documented in the literature of development economics and sociology. For us, the interest of Rostow's theory lies primarily in the extent to which his ideas have subsequently reappeared, albeit in some modified form, in the theoretical discourse of migration.

Another writer in the sociological tradition to have contributed to a theory of modernisation was Bert Hoselitz (1960). Hoselitz attempted to apply the theories of Talcott Parsons to the study of modernisation. Using Parsons' "Pattern Variables of Value Orientation", Hoselitz maintained that the conditions leading to the transition from traditional to modern forms of social and economic organisation could only be brought about through a fundamental change in cultural values. According to his interpretation, therefore, it is only with the transformation of traditional values away from ascriptive, collective, and role diffuse orientations, towards more achievement, self, and role-specific orientations, that the material transition of traditional societies becomes possible. While the relevance of this type of Parsonian theory of modernisation has been questioned and extensively criticised in the sociological literature of development, this has not prevented it from reappearing in the theoretical discourse of migration. We shall turn now, therefore, to a brief review of the ways in which these contrasting perspectives of international development have contributed to equally contrasting macrostructural accounts of human migration.

The influence of these two views of international development on the discourse of migration has been considerable, and an increasing number of studies into the causes and consequences of international migration have tended to adopt a variant of one of or other of these two viewpoints,. As theories of international migration, modernisation and dependency perspectives may be distinguished from each other in terms of a series of contrasting assumptions about the structure of international economic relations. Thus, as Meadows (1980:402) observes, one of the key issues distinguishing these two perspectives relates to the value attributed to international economic integration. In modernisation accounts of international migration, there is a tendency to assume the desirability of greater international economic integration between developed "core" and underdeveloped "peripheral" regions of the global economy, whereas in dependency accounts, priority is normally given to the breaking of external dependency relations and to the mobilisation and rational redevelopment of national resources.

6.3. Modernisation Models of Migration

Until recently, most macrostructural accounts of migration, those which focus on the international system of population flows, tended to adopt one of a number of different variants of the modernisation perspective. It is only recently, within the last decade or so, that other perspectives of international development—most notably, dependency and neo-Marxian theories,—have found their way into the discourse of migration. The confrontation of these two perspectives has not only resulted in a general politicisation of migration discourse, but has also served to generate some systematic theory construction in a field from which systematic theory has remained conspicuously absent. We shall now turn, therefore, to a brief review of the impact of these two perspectives of international development on the discourse of migration.

One of the more influential students of international migration to utilise the concept of an "international system" is Brinley Thomas (1973; 1968). In his research on the Nineteenth century period of heavy European migration to North America, Thomas has focussed on what he has termed, "the Atlantic economy". His analysis of the causes and consequences of this period of trans-Atlantic migration has emphasised the importance of population and capital as complementary factors in the process of economic growth and development.

In place of earlier more static conceptions of the relationship between international trade and migration, Thomas has been able to show how business cycles have undergone a series of "structural turning points", which have often resulted in an increase in international migration.

The essential framework for Thomas' analysis of the relationship between economic growth and the migration process, is the international system of the Atlantic economy. Within this system, according to Thomas, the movements of labor, capital and commodities may be thought of as though they were "interregional", that is, a movement within a relatively closed system. Under these conditions, the process of migration may be seen as both a cause and a consequence of economic growth and industrialisation. Long term swings in the movements of capital and labor, therefore, reflect the changing market conditions in the supply and demand, as well as the changing marginal costs, of these factors of production. On the basis of this longitudinal data for the period of high mass trans-Atlantic migration, Thomas concludes that industrialisation which occurs in traditional "donor" countries tends to inhibit emigration, while industrialisation which occurs in traditional "host" countries tends to stimulate immigration.

Underlying his conceptualisation of the "Atlantic economy", as a relatively self-contained and closed economic and demographic system, is a competitive free market model of the international economy. Following in the tradition of Jerome (1926) and other writers who have studied the relationship between business cycles and population movement, Thomas has produced an account of the historic period of trans-Atlantic migration using the conventional assumptions of orthodox neo-classical economic theory. The degree to which his account remains an idealisation or "rational reconstruction" (Lakatos, 1971) of this historical period is largely obscured by the descriptive and highly empirical language in which his account is formulated.

> At the outset in the eastern sector of the economy the Old World—labor and capital were plentiful relative to land and natural resources; in the western sector—the New World—labor and capital were scarce, relative to land and natural resources. Given freedom to move and the means of transport, units of the plentiful factors would migrate from east to west. As long as the marginal social net product in the New World was greater than in the Old World, east-west migration of workers would promote economic efficiency of the Atlantic economy."
>
> Thomas (1968:531)

Another writer who has incorporated a modernisation perspective into the study of international migration is Walter Zelinsky (1971). In an influential study Zelinsky has shown how the process of migration may be linked to other demographic and socio-economic processes. Using the example of the demographic transition model, therefore, Zelinsky has proposed a theory of migration which takes into account the different stages in the social and economic development of societies. The demographic transition model asserts that at certain threshold of socio-economic development, countries will pass through various stages of population change ranging from a initial pre-modern, or traditional stage characterised by high rates of fertility and mortality, to a late modern stage in which a new equilibrium is reached between declining rates of fertility and mortality. During the transitional stages, however, imbalances between the sharp reductions in mortality rates and continuing high fertility rates invariably resulted in a rapid, sometimes exponential, rate of natural population increase.

Using the demographic transition model as a framework for the historical analysis of migration, Zelinsky has formulated the "hypothesis of the mobility transition". This hypothesis proposes that there are a number of well defined and sequential stages of migration which correspond to different stages in the social and economic development of societies. Zelinsky identifies five such stages: (1) the premodern transitional society, (2) the early transitional society (3) the late transitional society (4) the advanced society, and (5) a future superadvanced society. Each stage is portrayed as having its own distinctive patterns of territorial mobility, and the evolution of one stage into the next, is seen as linear and irreversible.

While Zelinsky has acknowledged that his theory may be understood as an application of the demographic transitional model to the study of migration, it is also apparent that his stage theory of mobility, reflects the influence of other stage theories of international development—such as the modernisation theory of W.W. Rostow. Zelinsky's hypothesis of mobility transition thus shares many of the assumptions of the demographic transition model, as well as the "Stages of Economic Growth" theory, including the major assumption that the only path to "modernisation" is the historical path taken by the industrialised nations of the western world. In this respect, therefore, the work of Zelinsky may be seen as a further example of the application of the modernisation perspective to the discourse of migration.

Modernisation theories of international migration have been criticised on several counts for their failure to conceptualise the migration process in terms of the historical structures of the world socio-economic system.

In general, contemporary modernisation theories of international migration have not only tended to be a-historical and abstract, but have also appeared to be one-sided. They have often ignored the political factors which influence economic processes, and have frequently failed to take into account the social relationships which often determine the framework of economic transactions.[3]

Similarly, demographic variants of modernisation theories of international migration have often tended to assume that such standardised concepts as "push and pull" or "supply and demand", can serve as adequate criteria for the conceptualisation of patterns of international, interregional, and intersectoral migration. Common to many modernisation accounts of migration, therefore, has been the characteristic indifference displayed by many social scientists operating in the formal media of econometrics or mathematical demography towards the historical specificity and structural complexity of the process of migration at all levels of the modern world-system.

More particularly, however, those accounts of migration which have focussed on labor-migration have invariably adopted a methodology and corresponding set of theoretical assumptions which have proven inimical to a more critical analysis of the functions of international labor migration within the modern world-system. As Amin (1974 a,b) has shown, the conventional approach to the study of labor migration has been founded on two basic assumptions of modern economic and social theory.

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[3] (For an extension of these criticisms, c.f. M. Nikolinakos, 1975)

(1) that the distribution of the 'factors of production' (i.e. land, labour and capital) is given *a priori*.

(2) that analysis of the migration process is reducible to the individual motivations of manifold migrants within a population flow.

The first of these assumptions: that the distribution of productive factors is given *a priori*, forms the basis of conventional neo-classical economic theory. The unequal geographic distribution of the available factors of production also determines the unequal remuneration of each one of these. In certain regions, labor is relatively more abundant and capital is more scarce; in others it is the opposite. Labor moves in the direction where it gets the highest remuneration: this is the basis of the conventional explanation which always remains on this elementary level. However, such an oversimplified model overlooks the fact, as Amin (1974b : 88-9) has shown, that the initial allocation of land, labor and capital is never automatically a given natural point of departure, but is the result of basic development strategies.

> The problem then is to elucidate the reasons for the basic choice; that of the overall strategy, because it is there that the ultimate cause of migration lies. The rational choice of the migrant is nothing but the immediate apparent cause; a platitude which leads nowhere.

The assumption, therefore, that the initial allocation of factors should be included as a *datum* rather than as a problem in the analysis of international or interregional labor migration represents a significant limitation of traditional modernisation theories of migration. It is a limitation which is also reproduced in conventional labor market theory, where failures of equilibriation in labor supply/demand tendencies owing to racial/national/sexual discrimination have traditionally been explained as consequences of initially unequal factor (i.e. human capital) endowments.

Such explanations have concealed the structural causes of discrimination in labor markets, and have overlooked the significance of the process of unequal sectoral development for the progressive segmentation of labor market structures.[4]

The second assumption shared by most traditional approaches to the study of labor migration, that migration analysis is reducible to the individual motivations of migrants, is often as hotly contested as the first. The logic of this assumption represents migrants as individuals who migrate because they are attracted by better remuneration for their work elsewhere. Thus the society of origin which they leave behind is hardly considered, it is supposed to be a conglomeration of individuals who have a choice of either staying or leaving; consequently, one rarely asks which individuals of a given society emigrate. Such a procedure has become increasingly criticised for the reason that it serves to eliminate all discussion of the modes of production and the social organisation of labor transfer systems. Instead, attention is directed to problems of adaptation, assimilation and acculturation of the newly arrived immigrant. Individuals are conceptualised as acting in response to environmental forces, maximising their individual interests and in this sense, exercising control over their own destiny.[5]

However, for many current writers, the process of unequal international development which has led to the progressive centralisation of labor-power and capital within the modern world-system, have made such assumptions appear more ideological than scientific. It has become increasingly difficult to conceive of the individual migrant as a rational actor maximising interests under market forces. Instead, the flow of labor-power appears more than ever to be directed by supra-market institutions beyond the control of an individual or even a group of immigrants.

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[4] c.f. for example, Gordon, (1972); Gordon *et al.* (1975)

[5] c.f. M. Burawoy, (1976) for an extension of this theoretical critique.

For these reasons, therefore, many critics of traditional modernisation theories have argued that the analysis of migrant labor requires a different perspective; one focussing on the nature of external coercive institutions and their mode of organisation.

In much the same way, demographic variants of modernisation theories reveal a similar set of limitations. In demographic terms, the economic concepts of 'supply and demand', linked indissoluably to assumptions of equilibrating (labor) market processes, are translated into the more imprecise concepts of 'push and pull'. The demographic class of push/pull factors is considerably wider than the economic class of supply/ demand, and has traditionally included political, religious, socio-psychological and many other factors as motivating agents of the process of migration. However, as Amin (1974b:92) has observed, the uncovering of individual motivations for migration by sociological surveys results in little else than platitudes. Such motivations often appear to mask the real reasons for migration, because the migrant, like anybody else, rationalises the objective needs of his situation. (c.f. Elkan, 1959) Many critics have argued, therefore, that it is not by making a catalogue of such 'causes' that one can hope to understand the systemic functions of migration, any more than an attempt to describe the manifold motives leading people to want to buy a commodity would constitute an analysis of demand. Indeed, even Thomas (1973:26) has pointedly rejected the multi-causal approach:

> Nothing is easier than to draw up a list of factors labelled of these two sets of influences. Such an approach, however, will not throw much light on the deeper problems posed by migration as part of the process of economic expansion.

Among many students of migration, therefore, there has been a growing awareness of the need for more comprehensive theories of migration in order to overcome the current limitations of economic and demographic theories.

> Indeed, there appears to be considerable agreement among scholars from various disciplines that continued progress in migration study is hampered by serious inadequacies in the theories of migration; that migration theory tends to be a social phenomenon, that migration cannot be understood in meaningful or practical terms without a comprehensive grasp of the dynamic interplay among demographic, economic, social, psychological, and other relevant factors and dimensions that converge in the process of migration and in the act of migrating.
> Mangalam & Schwarzweller, (1968:4).

6.4. Dependency Models of Migration

The theoretical framework used in many dependency and neo-Marxian accounts of international migration may, perhaps, best be described as the "theory of unequal development", popularised in the works of Baran (1957), Baran and Sweezy (1966), Frank (1967), and Amin (1974a), among others. Until recently, the theory of unequal development had primarily been used to explain the global *structure of capital*, in particular, the generalisation of its mode of production/accumulation, and the centralisation of its mode of appropriation/expropriation. Thus the theory has emphasised the extent to which modern nation-states are structurally integrated as open systems into an international division of labor within the modern world-system. The conditions which lead to 'economic development' through intensive accumulation in the growth centres of the capitalist world-system, therefore, are identified with the parallel conditions which lead to the underdevelopment of the peripheries of the world-system.

> Economic development and underdevelopment are the opposite faces of the same coin. Both are the necessary result and contemporary manifestation of internal contradictions in the world capitalist system,... Thus they cannot be viewed as the products of supposedly different economic structures or systems, or of supposed differences in stages of economic growth achieved within the same system.
> Frank, (1967:7).

The relations between the centres and peripheries of the capitalist world-system (in Frank's terms: the metropoles and the satellites), are determined by the monopolistic structures of expropriation/ appropriation which transfer economic surpluses from local to regional centres, from regional to national centres, and from national to world centres. In this way, the process of expropriation/appropriation reproduces itself at every level of the world-system and generalises the tendency for capital centralisation over the total system.

> Indeed, it is this exploitative relation which in chain-like fashion extends the capitalist link between the capitalist world and national metropolises to the regional centres (part of whose surplus they appropriate), and from these local centres, and so on... Thus at each point, the international, national and local capitalist system generates economic development for the few and underdevelopment for the many.
> Frank (1967:7).

Using the theory of unequal development as a model of the structural relations between host and donor states in the world-system, an increasing number of writers have applied the theory of unequal development to the conceptualisation and explanation of the process of international migration. In this sense, therefore, the theory of the unequal development of capital structure has been extended in its application to form a parallel theory of the unequal development of the labor-supply process within the world-system. It is through using the theory of the unequal development of the labor-supply process, therefore, that many theorists have re-examined the process of international migration in terms of the structural relationships between host and donor states.

The radical critique of orthodox theories of international development which made its appearance during the 1960's was later extended during the 1970's to include a radical critique of orthodox accounts of international migration. Over the past decade, therefore, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of Marxian and neo-Marxian accounts of international migration, and it now appears as though the political economy of international migration has become established as an alternative and critical tradition of migration research.

Much of the work which has recently come out of this critical tradition has focussed on the role of temporary labor migration in the system of international capitalism. As a consequence of the post-war acceleration of European economic development, many of the core capitalist states began to import foreign workers in order to fill acute labor market shortages. Such countries as Germany, France, Holland and Switzerland imported workers from the underdeveloped peripheries of the European capitalist system, especially from Greece, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Southern Italy and North Africa. Some writers (e.g. Kindelberger 1967) have argued that without this supply of foreign labor-power at a time of rapid capital accumulation, the "supergrowth" which characterised the post-war period of European recovery would never have taken place. It has only been since the deepening of the current international recession of the 1970's that the demand for temporary migrant labor in Western Europe appears to have ended.

Elsewhere, however, temporary migrant labor has continued to play a significant role in the process of capitalist accumulation, whether in South

Africa—for example, where whole indigenous populations have been converted into industrial reserve armies of labor, or in North America, where Mexicans and other nationals have continued to provide both an official and unofficial source of temporary labor.

The role of migrant labor within the international capitalist system, has, therefore, become a significant problematic for the critical tradition of migration research. An increasing number of writers within this tradition, have used the methods of political economy to redefine the study of migration as the study of the internationalisation of labor and capital under the historical conditions of late capitalism. Critical studies of migration, therefore, have included studies of the role of migrant labor in European industrial societies (Castles and Kosack, 1973; Berger, 1975; Castells, 1975; Gorz, 1970; Marshall, 1973), in North America (Bustamante, 1976; Piore, 1980), in Africa (Amin, 1974a, 1974b; Burawoy, 1976; Wolpe, 1972), as well as more general programmatic statements on the need for a critical reorientation of migration research (Nikolinakos, 1975 Petras, 1980; Richmond and Verma, 1978; Wood, 1982; Bach and Schraml, 1982).

With their emphasis on the macrostructural elements of the world capitalist system, dependency and neo-Marxian perspectives share some of the characteristics of other systemic approaches to migration research. While avoiding the atomistic reductionism of demographic and microeconomic accounts of migration, neo-Marxian studies have nevertheless been criticised for their neglect of the motivational factors involved in the process of migration.

In many ways, therefore, the macrostructural accounts of migration provided in the recent literature of political economy have also tended to represent migrants as overdetermined social actors, no longer as actors in equilibrating force fields, but as passive agents of the "general law of capitalist accumulation". As Bach and Schraml (1982:324) have observed:

> No longer metal pieces, migrants are now treated more like empty grocery carts, wheeled back and forth between origin and destination under the hungry intentions of world capital.

Thus, while the critical tradition of migration research has emphasised the historical specificity and structural complexity of the process of international migration, and has to this extent advanced macrostructural studies beyond the dehistoricised space-time frameworks of more mechanistic demographic and microeconomic accounts, they have not altogether escaped the limitations of a systemic perspective. Commenting on similar tendencies in the field of agricultural development, Alain de Janvry (1981: xi—xii) has offered a criticism of the politico-economic approach which could also be made of the critical tradition of migration research:

> the other frustration that has recurrently perturbed me is that the global interpretations that have developed in the context of modernisation theory as well as that of political economy—have remained at very general and abstract levels. This, while pleasing to academic scholars of world economic systems and armchair revolutionaries, has left the practitioners of economic development, from policymakers to political activists, in a vacuum...

Dependency and neo-Marxian accounts of international migration, therefore, have contributed an effective critique of the more orthodox accounts. In particular, they have challenged the assumptions of the modernisation theory of development which underly many orthodox accounts of migration, and have thereby revealed the theoretical (and ideological) character of this area of migration discourse.

At the same time, however, many of these critical accounts have, themselves, been criticised for their failure to incorporate a semiotic dimension into their method of study. Without taking into account the rational and purposive elements of the migration process, any perspective of migration must remain essentially incomplete in its scope. In this sense, as Bach and Schraml (1982:324) have observed "We have developed good political economy, but insufficient migration theory."

We shall end this chapter, therefore, by turning to a brief review of those accounts which have emphasised the voluntaristic aspects of the migration process. These accounts may be distinguished by the use of what we have termed, "the semiotic metaphorical model of migration", a model which constitutes an end point on the continuum of migration-as-system to migration-as-action.

7. The Semiotic Metaphorical Model

The theoretical analysis of migration discourse already provided in this chapter has attempted to show some of the ways in which the topic of migration has been metaphorically constructed through use of the "system" concept. As we have seen, the phenomenon of migration has been variously conceptualised both in terms of mechanical systems of space-time co-ordinates, as well as in more "organic" systems of political economy. In all of these analyses, however, the process of migration has essentially been seen as determined by collective forces over which individual migrants or groups of migrants exercise little, if any, effective control. This has been most evident for those cases in which mechanical systems of "push/pull" or "supply/demand" have been used to conceptualise the migration process, but it is also true for those cases in which migration has been analysed in politico-economic systems, in terms of "the modernisation process", or "the general law of capitalist accumulation."

The mechanistic concept of "system", as we have tried to demonstrate, was introduced into migration discourse as an analogic metaphor from the physical sciences. It has been the influence of this metaphor that has imparted to traditional (i.e. demographic and microeconomic) migration discourse much of its apparently deterministic content. And although later reformulations of the "system" metaphor into political and economic terms have served to emphasise the historical and structural dimensions of the migration process, most applications of the "system" metaphor to macrostructural studies of migration have retained a somewhat deterministic orientation. It is this orientation which has characterised, to a greater or lesser extent, most conceptions of migration-as-system, and has distinguished them from alternative metaphorical conceptions of migration-as-action.

Unlike systemic accounts of migration, semiotic accounts, have concentrated on more voluntaristic processes of migration. Thus, as Meadows (1980:407) has observed, semiotic accounts have emphasised the interior world of the migrant—"the perceptual, motivational, valuational and attitudinal aspects of the migrant as a person." Whereas systemic accounts of migration have traditionally formulated their conceptions of the migration process in terms of factors which have remained *external* and *coercive* with respect to the individual migrant, semiotic accounts have been formulated from the perspective of the individual migrant. Thus systemic accounts have implicitly defined the process of migration as a *social fact*, which cannot be explained by reference to the attributes of individual migrants. Semiotic accounts, by contrast, have tended to define the act of migration as *meaningful social action* which cannot be understood without reference to the goals, values and motives of individual migrants. Systemic accounts, at their most mechanistic, therefore, have invariably sought the explanation/prediction of migration as social behaviour, determined within definable and (quantifiable) causal systems, while semiotic accounts have primarily sought the interpretation/understanding of migration as social action, invested with the meanings and purposes of individual social actors. On the one hand, therefore, systemic accounts have remained primarily concerned with analysing the *causes* of migration, while on the other, semiotic accounts have remained more concerned with analysing the *motives* of individual migrants.

This distinction remains a familiar one in sociological discourse and signifies an essential epistemological division between such perspectives as functionalism and (some varieties of) of Marxism, for example, which have traditionally sought explanations of human conduct in the structural relationships regulating social interaction, and other perspectives such as symbolic interactionism, which have sought to understand human conduct through the subjective perspective of social actors.

The basis of this division of perspectives in sociological discourse has been extensively discussed in contributions by Blumer (1978); Manis and Meltzer (1978), and many others. According to Blumer, (1978:100), the perspective of symbolic interactionism has tended to view "social action" as,

> lodged in acting individuals who fit their respective lines of action to one another through a process of interpretation; group action is the collective action of such individuals.

On the other hand, orthodox sociological conceptions, according to Blumer, (1978:100)

> generally lodge social action is the action of society or is some unit of society. [Thus] some conceptions, in treating societies or human groups as "special systems", regard group action as an expression of a system, either in a state of balance or seeking to achieve balance...If recognized at all, the efforts of people to develop collective acts to meet their situation are subsumed under the play of underlying or transcending forces which are lodged in society or its parts.

It is precisely this division of perspectives which separates semiotic from systemic accounts of migration, a division which is based in part upon contrasting metaphors of migration as a social phenomenon.

Although, as we have already seen, accounts of migration have often been criticised for their tendency to represent migrants as the passive social agents of macroscopic social forces, semiotic accounts have also been criticised for their apparent neglect of structural factors. Thus many writers have argued that the reason given by migrants for their decision to move cannot be uncritically accepted as the 'real' reasons for their acts of migration, nor can such reasons necessarily be accepted as the 'causes' of these migrations. The data provided by social psychological accounts of migration are, as Goldscheider (1971:37) has observed, far from unproblematic, and they raise a number of questions regarding the methodological validity of questionaire response sets, and the theoretical relationship of subjective personal motives to the objective structural causes of migration.

> ...it is fruitful to separate questions about the causes of migration and those that relate to the motives of migrants. We may argue, for example, that "motives" are the immediate subjective forces influencing migration whereas "causes" reflect objective conditions that operate by arousing motivations for movement. The analytic problem of why population movement occurs has a different focus than problems associated with why people move. Moreover, when we insist, correctly, on examining the motivational linkages between migratory behaviour

> and the social causes of migration, it is not necessary to revert to psychological reductionism or attitudinal responses to "why did you move?" Analysis focussing on attitudinal questions about migratory behaviour or intentions assumes that people understand their own complex behaviour patterns—an assumption which is probably unsound. Reasons offered by migrants tell us what factors went into a decision to migrate, not why people move. One way to uncover the motivational linkages is to *infer* them from migration selectivity and from the social correlates of migration rather than reporting or describing in vacuum the selectivity or correlation.

Semiotic accounts of migration, therefore, have invariably centred on the perspective of the individual migrant, and have typically formulated the process of migration as a form of meaningful social action. Thus, the meanings attributed to the process of migration in semiotic studies, are normally reconstructed from the accounts provided by individual migrants, and for this reason most semiotic studies of migration have remained psychological or social-psychological in content.

A classic example of a semiotic account of migration may be found in a study by Taylor (1969) in which he analysed the subjective motives given by English coalminers for their relocation, in relation to the objective circumstances of their move. Taylor (1969:99) begins his study with a brief assessment of the state of migration research.

> The growing reluctance to explain behaviour in terms of objective structural factors, characterising sociology in general, is reflected in migration studies in the increased attention to the migrant's own 'definition of the situation,' and his own account of motives. Unfortunately, dependence on the migrant's own account of motives confronts the sociologist with the difficult problem of 'real' and 'stated' motives...How is the anarchic and infinite collection of motives to be classified, without distortion and within the framework provided by the objective structural determinants? This is, of course, a problem, and perhaps *the* problem for every investigation engaged on a study of the motive for migration.

Taylor's proposed solution to the dilemma facing researchers who seek to integrate causal analyses of the structural conditions determining migration with an elucidation of the personal motives of individual migrants was to combine both systemic and semiotic approaches. Thus in his study, data collected on the subjective reasons leading to a decision to migrate were correlated with more 'objective' data collected on the selectively differentials of migrants.

> An objective account of the structural characteristics of the areas of origin and destination is combined with an account of the mechanism by which the migrator is effected. This is closely followed by the attempt to describe the way in which potential migrants perceive and evaluate migration as a personal project. These preliminary accounts claim to provide the full context out of which the decision to migrate finally crystalises.
> Taylor (1969:132).

Following from a framework suggested by Germani (1964), therefore, Taylor was able to develop to his own satisfaction a conceptual scheme for determining the motives for migration which included the following factors:

(1) the presence of structural factors, or strains, inducing migration

(2) individual perception and evaluation of such structural strains.

(3) the presence of long term or short term aspirations

(4) the presence of a degree of dislocation

(5) a generalised belief that conditions are better elsewhere

(6) the objective feasibility of migration as a project

(7) the presence of precipitating factors, or triggers.

Together, these factors were assumed by Taylor to exercise a cumulative effect on individual decision making, and they were seen to constitute a matrix of the decision making process in this particular case of migration.

From these procedures, Taylor generated four distinctive ideal types of migrant families:

(1) *Resultant* migrants—whose decision to migrate was influenced by the unacceptable prospects of unemployment which confronted them if they stayed.

(2) *Aspiring* migrants—whose desire to migrate was influenced by a strong sense of general dissatisfaction with their present circumstances, and a desire to improve their lifestyles.

(3) *Dislocated* migrants—whose desire to relocate was influenced by their general marginality in their present community.

(4) *Epiphenomenal* migrants—whose decision to migrate was influenced by particular personal reasons, the diversity of which required a separate classification.

By using a variety of systemic and semiotic indicators, therefore, Taylor elaborated an approach to the study of migration which, he believed successfully integrated both structural and motivational variables. His study provides a useful example of a way in which the subjective motives of individual migrant actors may be contextualised within the objective conditions of the migration process.

Several years earlier, Beshers (1967) completed a similar study of the decision making process involved in migration. In this study he introduced the expression 'mode of orientation' to indicate the fundamental principle used by decision makers when deciding upon a course of action. Beshers identified three basic modes of orientation, and by implication, three types of decision makers:

(1) the *purposive-rational* mode characterised by a consideration of short and long term consequences, and a future-oriented outlook.

(2) the *traditional* mode in which decisions are determined by custom or habit.

(3) The short term *hedonistic* mode in which decisions are made on the basis of immediate needs and feelings.

Besher's typology constitutes an important landmark in the study of migrant motivation, and it is apparent that the work of Taylor and others has been profoundly influenced by it. Further examples of a semiotic approach to the study of human migration may be found in the area of location theory. In this sub-field of applied geography semiotic accounts have emphasised the degrees to which spatial preferences are subjective evaluations, and that subjective evaluations of the desirability of alternative locations constitute an important determinant of migration and it's direction.[6]

Another extension of the semiotic approach to location theory has led to the development of aggregate models of migrant motivation through the construction of mental maps, or graphic representations of the expressed preference for alternative residential locations, (c.f. for example, Gould and White, 1974). Thus each individual migrant may be conceived of as having a mental map which organises places in terms of their relative attractiveness. Although each individual's place perception is unique, there is to some extent a shared view produced by similar cultural experience and circumstance. This shared view may be separated from individual mental maps to form aggregate mental maps.[7]

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[6] Numerous examples of this research tradition are to be found in Ritchley (1976:397-8).

[7] For a more complete discussion of this topic, c.f. Ritchley, (1976).

In reviewing the field of semiotic accounts of migration, it is apparent that typologies have figured prominently in the analysis of migrant motivations. Numerous writers have attempted to reduce the diversity of multiple subjective orientations to migration into a series of basic typologies which have often been identified with particular types of migrant. The methodology of migrant personality types was used effectively in a study by Zwingman and Pfister-Ammande (1973) to differentiate between migrants who were able to retain unimpaired ties with their society of origin, and those 'uprooted' migrants who were not. In analysing those 'uprooted' migrants, Pfister-Ammande identified the following social basic types:

(1) isolated individuals from groups in need of leadership

(2) deeply traumatised individuals, not dependent on groups

(3) those who identified themselves with their social class or profession

(4) drifting individuals and escapists

(5) 'problematiker'

This, as well as other similar classifications of migrant personalities and motivations illustrate the growing popularity of psychological and psychiatric studies of migrant behaviour problems, and the growing influence of semiotic accounts of the migration process. One of the more explicit attempts to formulate a comprehensive theory of migration which includes a semiotic dimension, may be found in the work of Mangalam and Schwarzweller already alluded to in previous chapters (1968; 1970). These authors have employed the structural-functionalist concepts of Talcott Parsons and others as a basic framework for the construction of a general theory of migration. For Mangalam and Schwarzweller, therefore, the process of migration is conceptualised as a total system in which the donor sub-system (i.e. the 'donor' society) and the recipient sub-system (i.e. the 'host' society) are linked together in a general interactional system of migration.

In conformity with traditional structural-functionalist models of society, the social organisation of the migration system may be further reduced into a set of analytic sub-systems including the cultural, social and personality sub-systems. Mangalam and Schwarzweller thus propose a model of migration analysis which reproduces in all essential aspects the structural functionalist model of society proposed by Talcott Parsons in *The Social System* (1951) and other works. It is only through such a general systems model of migration that the various aspects of the migration process, structural, psychological and cultural, can be meaningfully integrated into a common analytical framework. Without such a model, contend Mangalam and Schwarzweller, the study of migration will continue to be fragmented between different disciplines, theoretical orientations, methodological strategies and substantive topics.

The structural-functionalist analysis of migration, according to its proponents, provides a unified framework for the analysis of the *causes*, *motives* and *consequences* of the migration process. This much is evident in the definition of migration proposed by Mangalam and Schwarzweller (1970:8), which we have already examined in a previous chapter.

> Migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity, called migrants, from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in changed in the interactional system of the migrants

It is clear from this definition, with its reference to the act of migration as "*preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends*," that the structural-functionalist conception of migration includes an important semiotic component. This is further emphasised on Mangalam and Schwarzweller (1975:177) in their discussion of the subjective dimensions of the act of migration.

> . . .the decision to migrate is a subjective act. What matters is how the collectivity feels about the situation irrespective of the objective facts of the structure of opportunity. Readiness to migrate is more of a function of perceived reality than a response to structural conditions *per se*.

To date, however, the structural-functionalist analysis of migration has yet to develop into anything more than just a programmatic statement, and it remains to be seen to what extent structural and semiotic studies can be effectively integrated into a unified perspective. If the field of sociology is any example, the promise of structural-functionalism as a unified theory of social action has yet to be realised. Indeed, a well established tradition of criticism has argued that, notwithstanding an acknowledgement of the voluntaristic dimensions of social action, the structural functionalist analysis of society has tended to emphasise the structural over the semiotic aspects of social action. For this reason, structural functionalism has been criticised as an overly deterministic conceptual framework, one which has tended to neglect the motivational sources of social action. (c.f. Homans 1969, Blumer, 1978; Wrong, 1961b). There is no guarantee, therefore, that a structural functionalist perspective would provide any greater integration of structural and semiotic accounts of migration than has been accomplished in the field of sociological discourse. In this respect, Mangalam and Schwarzweller appear strangely naive, and demonstrate little knowledge of the critical debate which has surrounded structural-functionalism over the past two decades.

In summary, therefore, this chapter has tried to analyse the theoretical structure of migration discourse in terms of the prevailing metaphorical conceptions underlying traditional accounts of migration. These conceptions have remained so pervasive in migration discourse that they have almost invariably escaped detection as underground theoretical orientations. Indeed migration has traditionally been viewed as an essentially a-theoretical field of discourse in which the production of empirical research has proceeded in the absence of any corresponding development of systematic theory.

Such a view of migration discourse, however, tends to overlook the extent to which many of the basic terms and concepts of empirical migration research are derived from particular theoretical conceptions of the study of migration. When these conceptions enter into the observational languages of migration discourse they acquire a taken-for-granted status, and are thereafter understood as literal descriptions of the social world. In order to uncover the theoretical perspectives which have continued to influence the various traditions of migration research, therefore, it is necessary to trace the literal foundations of empirical observation languages, to their metaphorical origins.

To suggest that migration discourse is organised around a number of dominant metaphors is also, perhaps, to suggest that no one metaphor can adequately capture the total nature of the migration process. Different metaphors are able to construct the topic of migration in different ways, often in response to different institutional needs for information. To acknowledge that migration discourse is metaphorical is to acknowledge that it is an essentially subjective enterprise concerned with one-sided analyses of the migration process. This is very different from traditional approaches to the study of migration which have usually been based upon a series of well entrenched concepts and methods which have come to be seen as axiomatic as far as the analysis of migration is concerned. With such approaches, the metaphorical nature of the image which generated such concepts is lost from view, and the domain of migration research becomes increasingly reified as researchers treat these concepts as literal descriptions of reality.

CHAPTER 6. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND THE STUDY OF MIGRATION

1. The Literary Production of Research Texts in Migration Discourse

2. The Theory and Practice of Discourse

3. The Discourse of Social Policy

4. Migration Theory, Policy and Practice

5. Summary

6. The Sociological Significance and Limitations of the Study.

1. The Literary Production of Research Texts in Migration Discourse

The greater part of this thesis, so far, has presented arguments in favour of a discourse analytic approach to the study of migration research. We have, at various points, focussed on the importance of understanding such issues as how the emergence of migration as a "theoretical object" of discourse was initially dependent upon the transformation of the classical discourse(s) of population into the specialised (and "scientific") discourse of demography; or how the superficially a-theoretical appearance of migration research have been influenced by the presence of deep-seated, and often unarticulated, generative metaphors.

Such an approach departs widely from more conventional reviews of the field. For unlike the standard reviews, which have normally represented the research findings of migration studies as an ever-growing stockpile of social scientific "facts" that continue to extend our objective knowledge of the migration process, in this study we have chosen to focus on the ways in which such "facts" may be understood as "artifacts" of particular traditions of theory and research. In this respect, the present study owes more to other studies of the "manufactured" nature of scientific knowledge, (Knorr-Cetina, 1981; Gilbert and Mulkay, 1983; Latour and Woolgar, 1979), than it does to the more conventional reviews of the literature of migration research.

The point of convergence for many of the issues which have already been raised in connection with the study of migration discourse lies ultimately in the analysis of the *texts* of migration research. It is through studying the research texts of migration discourse as literary products, governed by particular conventions of form and style, that the procedures used in the codification and documentation of written scientific knowledge claims are most readily observed and analysed. It is as texts within a system of discourse, that the research documents of migration discourse may be analysed, no longer simply as descriptive amounts of empirical social regularities, but as literary products dependent for their meaning(s) upon particular uses of language, and particular modes of argumentation.

The textual analysis of research documents in particular fields of scientific and social scientific discourse promises to become an increasingly significant method of discourse analysis. Viewed as literary products, scientific research texts may be analysed, much as other literary documents, in terms of their rhetorical style, grammatical structure, figurative and dramaturgical devices, as well as their implied author-audience relationships. Such a perspective on research documents has the effect of demystidying these texts. They may no longer be seen as epistemically privileged observation reports, but as literary products in which "facts" are constructed through particular sets of discursive practices.

A recent example of a literary analysis of scientific research texts may be seen in the work of Joseph Gusfield, (1976, 1981). Using a sample of research papers on the subject of drinking and driving, Gusfield shows how the principles of literary criticisms, utilised in the analysis of narrative drama, and poetry, may also be applied to the analysis of the literary and theoretical procedures underlying the organised presentation of scientific research texts.

In particular, Gusfield focuses on what he calls the "window-pane" theory of scientific language commonly employed in the literary construction of scientific research texts. The window-pane theory is identified by Gusfield as a normative prescription of scientific narrative whereby the language and style of writing used in the construction of research texts is designed to approximate, (in figurative terms), a pane of clear glass. Thus scientists commonly express their procedures, findings and generalisations in a "neutral" language of observation, which is designed to minimise all subjective and contextually dependent features of the account, in favour of the apparently objective and universal features.

From his analysis of the rhetorical features which underly the organisation of a particular research text, Gusfield demonstrates how the presentation of description evidence may be reworked through metaphors, or conceptual archetypes, such as "social drinkers" and "problem drinkers", in order to achieve a dramatic contrast and a conceptual clarity.

> The implicit use of stock forms has enabled the author to produce a morality play in which drinking driving is an avenue for the expression of personal and moral character. The social drinker is Everyman - rational, socially responsible, given to occasional and human lapses of conduct but basically law-abiding, controllable and controlling and responsive to norms of social cooperation... Not so the problem drinker. He is the Juvenile Delinquent and traffic. Irresponsible, compulsive and irrational, his drinking is part of his social defiance and deviance.
>
> Gusfield (1976:26-27).

Gusfield's work, therefore, stands as a useful example of the way in which scientific research texts may be read as literary productions. Although the methods of scientific discovery have traditionally been seen as totally incommensurable with the methods of artistic production, Gusfield has demonstrated how similar rules may govern the construction of textual order in both scientific and artistic accounts.

> My assertion is not that science *is* literature, but rather that we can treat science *as if* it were literature and that this metaphorical conceit will be productive.
>
> Gusfield (1976:17).

In contrast to traditional interpretations of scientific discourse, therefore, which have ascribed a largely referential function to the languages of science, Gusfield has attempted to show how many of the formulations of scientific discourse are constructed through rhetorical rather then through referential uses of language. In this respect, Gusfield's conclusions, as well as those of other analysts of the literary organisation of scientific and social scientific research texts (c.f. Overington, 1977 a, 1977 b, O'Neill, 1981) appear similar to those of a number of contemporary writers in the school of post-structuralist literary criticism. For most of these writers, the notion of any purely referential use of language is largely illusory; the basic terms of any mode of discourse, whether artistic or scientific are established through metaphor, and through other rhetorical functions of language. Language, according to this interpretation, is no longer understood as a "window-pane" through which object referents may be viewed directly in terms of their object predicates. Instead, language appears more as a clouded "crystal-ball which, when it clears, may show as many different readings of a text as there are imaginative readers to construct them. Thus, according to Paul de Man (1979:106), for example,

> ... the straitforward affirmation that the paradigmatic structure of language is theoretical rather than representational or expressive of a referential proper meaning ... marks a full reversal of the established priorities which traditionally root the authority of language in its adequation to an extra-linguistic referent or meaning, rather than in the intra-linfguistic resources of figures.

This conception of the essentially metaphorical structure of language is shared by a number of other writers of the post-structuralist, or deconstructive, school of literary criticism. In much the same way as Paul de Man, therefore, J. Hillis Miller has also eschewed any referential approach to the analysis of literary texts in favour of an approach which emphasis the thorough-going rhetorical character of all textuality. For Miller (1976:6), "all words are metaphors - that is, all are differentiated, differed, and deferred. Each leads to something of which it is the displacement in a movement without origins or end." In a somewhat fuller statement of his position, Miller (1972:11) has further elaborated on his view that metaphors constitute the basic elements in any theory of language.

> Rather than figures of speech being derived or "translated" from proper uses of language, all language is figurative at the beginning. The notion of a literal or referential use of language is only an illusion born of the forgetting of the metaphorical "roots" of language.

The attention paid by these and other writers to the rhetorical features of literary production in both artistic and scientific texts has contributed to a greater awareness of the presentational strategies which underly the construction of textual order. In the case of scientific discourse, this has resulted in a recognition of the ways in which even the most empirical and a-theoretical of research texts may be derived from an unarticulated theoretical structure of analogical terms and generative metaphors.

As we have already discussed, in the case of much migration research, especially that focussing upon demographic and economic variables, it has often been observed that such research has remained conspicuously a-theoretical in character. Many of these research texts have appeared to observers as an assortment of descriptive studies, often characterised by a sophisticated use of statistical technique yet, at the same time, unrelated to particular traditions of systematic theory.

To a great extent, however, the mistaken impression that the majority of migration studies have been basically a-theoretical in content remains an artifact of the particular rhetorical style in which many of these research texts have been written. Unlike more recent texts in the political economy of migration which, as we have already argued, make explicit use of well defined theoretical and ideological frameworks - whether neo-Marxian, sturctural-functionalist, or whatever - , many earlier studies of migration effectively concealed their theoretical premises behind a battery of measurement indicators, statistical techniques, and, more than anything else, a highly impersonal style of authorship. The mood of "objectivity" created through these presentational devices has caused many observers to conclude that the bulk of such "empirically" oriented studies, dealing largely with demographic and micro-economic variables, have remained largely independent of systematic theoretical frameworks.

It is the contention of this thesis, however, that an over-emphasis on the methodological character of many research texts in migration discourse has effectively blinded many critics to the highly theoretical character of many of the basic assumptions which may often be traced through the choice of observational concepts and measurement indicators.

Thus, in the case of many migration studies, the prominence of such concepts as "distance", "gravity model", "intervening opportunities", "maximum entropy" and so on, clearly betrays a primary concern with the spatial aspects of population movement. Since the time of Ravenstein, population geographers, mathematical demographers and others, have continued to search for a model of human movement analogous to that of physical interaction. Such an undertaking suggests a definite theoretical commitment to this mode of analysis, and the research texts generated within this tradition of discourse have continued to exemplify the characteristic features associated with this particular textual format.

Similarly, a broad range of micro-economic studies of migration encompassing economic growth models, cost-benefit analyses, regression models and so on, are derived, in part or in the whole, from the standard theoretical assumptions contained in neo-classical marginalist economics. To a great extent, the "stock figure" in most micro-economic models of migration has remained that of the rational economic actor who is assumed to move in response to shifting market conditions, from areas of lower to areas of higher economic opportunity. As we have already discussed at length, the theory of individual choice which lies at the heart of neo-classical economics tends to neglect many of the structural determinants of human migration, recently emphasised by political economists, developmental sociologists, and others. At the same time, however, the traditional tendency of micro-economic studies to eschew overt theoretical discussion in favour of more detailed methodological consideration of measurement indicators and statistical technique, should not conceal the highly theoretical nature of these research texts.

This point has been well made in another context by Horan (1978) who, in a review of the literature of status attainment research, has shown how the apparently a-theoretical character of this research tradition has remained grounded on a strongly new-classical and functionalist conception of social structure. Horan thus discounts charges that the literature of status-attainment research has remained a-theoretical, pointing instead to the ways in which the very selection of measurement indicators and observational concepts may be seen as derivative from a particular theoretical model of social structure. Horan's argument, therefore, attends to the theory-laden character of status attainment research. It has been through an attachment to observational categories of occupational prestige scores, rather than to the use of path analysis or linear models, that status attainment research has remained inimical to a consideration of the broader issues in the political economy of class structure. It is not, therefore, the methodological operations of a research strategy which determine the theoretical or a-theoretical character of the discourse, but the underlying theoretical framework which selects which variables to include/exclude in the analysis, and which decides how these variables will be measured.

It is only by reading the research texts of migration discourse as literary productions, rather than as objective observation reports, that it becomes possible to examine the documentary practices which underly the production of these accounts. Science texts, as much as literary texts, rely upon a disciplinary - specific tradition of presentation and argumentation. In the documentary practices of normal scientific research (even in such sub-disciplines as migration research) the theoretical assumptions of the research may be largely internalised by members of the academic community. Under these conditions, references to theory will be few and far between, although greater consideration will normally be given to discussions of metholdology. Such a state of affairs is not, however, indicative of the a-theoretical character of such research, but of the taken-for-granted (or quasi-paradigmatic) character of the basic theoretical assumptions.

2. The Theory and Practice of Discourse

Up to this point, we have largely restricted our account of the discourse of migration to an examination of the conceptual structure of the field. Indeed, our meta-theoretical examination of migration discourse has been limited not only to the written statements of the discourse, but even more narrowly, to those written statements representative of academic discourse. Such a limited undertaking hardly qualifies as a general analysis of migration discourse in view of the many other elements of the discursive field which have been overlooked. A more broadly defined conception of migration discourse would also involve an analysis of written statements taken from a variety of other sources, which could also include the correspondence of migrants, immigration circulars and advertisements, minutes from immigrant and anti-immigrant societies, proceedings from special government reports on immigration and emigration, newspaper reports, as well as a host of other possible documentary sources. In addition to the field of written discourse, however, an analysis of migration discourse could also include analyses of spoken statements on migration, through content and semiotic analyses of radio and television programmes, and of published responses to public opinion polls and other instruments of respondent or informant-based data collection. In the context of the possible universe of migration discourse, therefore, the documentary field of academic research constitutes only a fraction of what may legitimately be classified as migration discourse.

While such a perspective has enabled us to raise some basic questions concerning the genealogy, and internal conceptual structure of academic migration discourse, it has, at the same time, necessarily limited the scope of our inquiry. There is a sense, perhaps, in which any decision to focus on the internal relations of a field of discourse may thereby contribute to the illusion of the "autonomy" and "self-sufficiency" of such discourse from the social and historical conditions of its formation. Yet such an obviously idealist interpretation of the place of discourse in society is far from being the intention of this study. On the contrary, it is recognised that all fields of discourse require, as a condition of their formation and transformations; the institutionalisation of certain relevant sets of social practices. Thus, in the case of the discourse of "madness", Foucault has shown how the transformation of this field of discourse during the Classical age was integrally related to the inauguration of new custodial institutions—prisons, asylums, poor houses etc.— that is, to the practice of "confinement". Similarly, the formation of other specialised fields of discourse has invariably corresponded to the emergence of, or has been prompted by, distinctive sets of social practices and in this sense, discourse may even be understood as a theoretical expression of these practices. At the same time, however, there remains a sense in which social practices are themselves inescapably "discursive" in character and for this reason any attempt to formulate the concepts of "discourse" and "social practice" in terms of separate philosophical (i.e. epistemological and ontological) categories, whether as "superstructure: base", "knowledge: interest", "paradigm: scientific community", "Weltanschauung: existential conditions"—as has been done in the traditions of historical materialism, critical theory, and the sociology of knowledge—is to perpetuate a fundamental conceptual confusion which forces one to forever ask which is the more important element in the equation. For in the same way that it is impossible to fully understand the concept of "discourse" without reference to the social practices of which all discourse is a part, it is equally impossible to fully understand the concept of "practice" without reference to some form of discourse. Social practices can no more be seen to exist independently of discourse than can discourse be seen to exist independently of social practices; together they form an indisoluble unity.

Social practices may be said to be discursive, therefore, in the sense that like all social action they involve the construction of meaningful social realities. These constructions are derived from the perspectives of relevant groups and individuals and are, therefore, tied to the discourse of particular language communities. For this reason, social practices can only be apprehended through discourse; they do not stand outside discourse as "material bases", "existential conditions" or as "knowledge constitutive interests", but are, so to speak, contaminated with the elements of discourse without necessarily being aware of them.

In terms of the present study, the field of migration discourse may be seen to extend far beyond the limits of academic migration research, into the discourses of public policy and law enforcement. It is through these discourses that the social practices underlying migration discourse are recorded, and it is only through an analysis of such discourse that the social relations of migration discourse may be disclosed as constitutive elements in the unity of the discursive formation. The archeological method of discourse analysis, therefore, implies not only the deconstruction of academic fields of discourse, but also of the discursive practices through which such fields are produced and reproduced. In an important sense, the deconstruction of discursive practices constitutes an integral part of discourse analysis—inasmuch as discourse and its discursive practices form an essential unity—and can in no sense be regarded as a separate analytical project. In this sense, the deconstruction of discursive practices may only be accomplished through discourse analysis, and as constituent elements of discourse, such practices may also be deconstructed in terms of their genealogies, internal relations, deep structures and so on.

3. The Discourse of Social Policy

During the past decade, the study of public policy has undergone a noticeable shift. Today, the traditionally pragmatic approach of policy analysis, which has focussed on the role of interest goups in "support building" and "agenda setting", and on the methodology of policy selection through cost-benefit and opportunity cost analyses, has partially given way to a new interest in the conceptual processes of policy formation. Unlike orthodox approaches to policy studies, which have primarily conceived of public policy as a "problem-solving" enterprise, more recent approaches has tended to view policy development as a "problem-setting" enterprise, dependent upon prior belief systems and prevailing world views.

In an important sense, these recent trends in the development of policy studies indicate an interest in analysing polic policy as a form of discourse. Indeed, many current writers in the area of picy analysis have drawn attention to the need for a much greater sensitivity on the part of researchers both in regard to the languages in which policies are fmulated, and to those in which policy analysis, itself, is conducted. Thus Gunn (1978:17) has observed that:

> Words and language are the fundamental tools of policy analysis... Policy analysts need to develop a much greater critical and self-conscious awareness of the language systems that they use as tools for analysis. These tools must be carefully tested by evidence and by the fruits yielded from their practical application.

Such a conception of public policy, not only as an institutional, but also as a conceptual system, constitutes a major advance over previous conceptions of the subject, and goes some way to illustrate the links between systems of discourse and their underlying discursive practices. For public policy may, at one and the same time, be regarded as both a mode of discourse and as a social practice, and it is in their reciprocal relations to each other, that these two aspects of public policy represent an indivisible unity. We shall, therefore, turn now to a brief review of some current attempts to analyse public policy as a mode of discourse, before examining some specific applications of this type of analysis to the case of migration policy.

Much of the impetus for this new conception of policy analysis has come from recent developments in the study of science where, since the publication of *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, considerably greater prominence has been given to the role of conceptual factors in the growth of science. The influence of this reorientation in the history, philosophy and sociology of science has, as is well known, been felt in many other areas of social science; and in this respect, policy studies have proven to be no exception.

One of the strongest arguments for introducing a conceptual approach into studies of public policy has been made by Stuart Blume (1978). Blume has suggested that recent developments in the study of science have demonstrated the importance of understanding the conceptual frameworks, or paradigms, which underly the process of normal scientific research. In Blume's view, there is a possible analogy to be drawn between the development of science and the development of social policy, inasmuch as the underlying assumptions of each, only become apparent at times of crisis, when routine applications are displaced by debates over fundamentals.

> This paper ... suggests that social policy may thus be conceptualised as an evolving sequence of concepts, theories and problems comparable with the cognitive development of science.
> Blume (1978:33).

In using the development of science as a framework for studying the development of social policy, Blume implies that, from a conceptual analysis of the ways in which policy problems have been defined, and strategies proposed for their solution, it is possible to identify a series of "paradigms" of social policy. These paradigms not only provide the frameworks within which policy problems are defined, but they also structure the fields of observation and experience against which the efficacy or success of social policies is tested. In this respect, paradigms of social policy appear to function much as their counterparts in scientific discourse. Not only do they generate criteria for defining what counts as a "problem" or as a "solution", but in defining the relevant limits of observation and experience, they also determine what counts as a "fact" in any particular field of discourse. There is, therefore, an indivisible unity (some might say "a dialectical relationship") evident in the relations between discourse and policy. For while a social policy may be dependent for its conception upon categories established in a particular field of discourse, it is no less true that these categories remain dependent for their institutionalisation upon the formulation of social policy. "Theory" and "practice", in this sense, constitute different stages in the sequential development of meaningful social action; they appear as separate categories only when artificially frozen in time, through synchronic analysis. The relationship of social policy to particular fields of discourse is made very clear by Blume in an example taken from Philippe Ariès' analysis of the discourse of childhood. In this example, Blume (1978:34-35) underlines the historical relativity of different modes of discourse and the implications of this for the formulation of social policy.

> The central point, which is not sufficiently appreciated, is that policy—like knowledge—depends upon a conceptual structure. We cannot have a health policy unless we have a notion of health (and notions of health, as anthropologists are beginning to show, differ from culture to culture). Sometimes, they may even be said to "emerge" ... [Thus] the French historian, Philippe Ariès, has been able to show that the very idea of childhood, as a particular stage of life with particular needs, actually emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries... Ariès shows convincingly that this is best seen as the "invention" of "childhood".

If social policy is seen to be dependent for its formulation upon conceptual categories contained within particular fields of discourse, then debates over policy may likewise be seen, not simply as conflicts of interest between competing social groups (the conventional view), but as encounters between epistemic frames of reference, based on different modes of discourse. This conception of policy debates in advanced by Blume in a series of examples which are intended to illustrate the primacy of conceptual factors in the development of social policy.

Thus, in the case of British social policy towards the relief of family poverty, Blume shows that early social policy in the 19th century, as represented in the Poor Law Amendment Act (1834) was based upon a particular conception which attributed the cause of poverty to the "wanton idleness" of the poor. Under the provisions of this Act, persons declared to be "paupers" were legally committed to registered Poor Houses where they were disenfranchised, given special clothes and menial work, and deliberately degraded, in an effort to drive them back onto the labour market. According to the Benthamite doctrines of the time, poverty was defined as a "moral" problem for which moral solutions were sought. However, when it later became apparent that the population of Poor Houses included large numbers of the sick, infirm, the aged and the very young, and that in spite of this, attempts to find employment for the able-bodied poor inevitably failed when there was no available work, those attempts gradually gave way to a general recognition that "the realities of the economic market were making a nonsense [sic] of the nomative theories of political economy" (Blume, 1978:38). In order to accommodate these anomolous facts, therefore, the normative discourse of poverty gave way during the late nineteenth century to a discourse of social welfare, in which the "problems" of health and welfare, and old age security, were separately and independently defined.

Further examples of the ways in which conceptual categories of a mode of discourse may structure the relevant field of observation and experience, thereby defining what counts as a "problem" for social policy, are also cited by Blume. Thus in recent years, it has become clear that the traditional discourse of housing policy in Britain, which has been based on architectural/public health notions of need (overcrowding, defined in terms of standard density; lack of access to certain facilities; etc.) has given way to a more social definition of need with respect to such problems as security of tenure, design problems for the aged and handicapped, geographical location (*vis-a-vis* work, relatives, etc.)

More dramatic examples of conceptual debates which translate into policy debates are to be found in the discourse of mental illness. In this respect, mental health professionals differ considerably in their definitions of mental illness, as a disease, as a disturbance in the functioning of the personality, or as a problem of living. Each of these three definitions of the "problem" of mental illness implies a different type of solution; and in this sense, mental health policy has continued to be dependent upon a particular conception of mental illness.

For Blume, therefore, all social policy is based upon a particular mode of discourse. It is this discourse which provides a context for the classification of relevant experience, and for the definition of "problems". In this respect, Blume's view of social policy approaches Foucault's notion of a "discursive practice". For both Blume and Foucault, any systematic (or archeological) analysis of social policy requires that it be deconstructed into its epistemic elements. It is only through such deconstruction that the internal conceptual relations of policy discourses can be fully understood and historically contextualised.

> I want to suggest that political disputes, more precisely disputes over policies, can be regarded as also epistemological (or cognitive) disputes. In other words, we shall proceed by considering social welfare policy (or policies) as a theoretical endeavour existing in a dialectical relationship with the level of praxis; the real world of people, cities, hospitals—and ammeliorative programmes. By "theoretical endeavour" I imply, in general, a set of partial theories of the social world not usually fully integrated or coherent, often largely implicit and characterised by inter-theoretical competition and change.
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> Blume (1978:35)

Other writers have also testified to the discursive nature of social policy. Indeed, the very terms in which social policy is formulated derive from the vocabulary of a particular field of discourse. It is often the case that terms from the vocabulary of one field of discourse may fail to find an application within another field, and to this extent, we may say that all knowledge claims (both theories and observations) are dependent for their production, and for their validation, upon particular modes of discourse. This point has been clearly made by Najone (1981:18), in reference to the "facts" contained in different policy discourses.

> ... the objects of policy analysis and policy arguments are not directly perceived social events, but theory-laden constructs resulting from definition, convention and abstraction. Terms like "price", "cost", "inflation", "GNP", "standard of living", "intelligence", "crime", are used so often that we tend to forget their abstract and conventional nature. Even the most basic social and economic statistics—for instance, the unemployment and balance-of-payment data that makes headlines and are discussed at length on radio and television—are extremely abstract things.

Social policies, therefore, may be understood as more than just the embodiments of particular social theories, however comprehensive and well articulated these may be. In their general aspect, social policies project "composite pictures" of the social world, made up of theories, observations, metaphors and domain assumptions which together combine to structure a field of relevant experience.

The crucial relationship between social policy and discourse, as Blume and others have intimated, is to be seen in the way in which "problems" are defined. Indeed, for some writers, the essential study of social policy development has more to do with definition of "problems", than with the search for "solutions".

> For some twenty years, it has been a powerful, indeed a dominant view that the development of social policy ought to be considered as a problem-solving enterprise. In opposition to this view, I have become persuaded that the essential difficulties in social policy have more to do with *problem-setting* than that problem-solving, more to do with ways in which we frame the purposes to be achieved than with the selection of optimal means for achieving them.
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> Schön (1979:255)

The "setting" of policy problems, according to Donald Schön (1979), takes place in the context of "stories" that people tell about troublesome situations. In the case of social policy, many of the problem-setting stories told by policy-makers and policy-analysts are dependent for their meaning upon underlying metaphors which generate problem-setting, and set the direction of problem-solving. It is, therefore, in the metaphorical accounts of policy discourse that problems are often set; not so much in the logical structure of systematic theory and observation, but in the "deep structure" of generative metaphors. These metaphors combine to influence the definition of policy-problems by providing a tacit and often unacknowledged frame of reference through which the complexity of social phenomena is reduced into simplified accounts. It is these orienting frames of reference, based as they are on generative metaphors, which provide—in Schön's view—the basic definitions of "problems" in policy discourses.

> Problems are not given. They are constructed by human beings in their attempts to make sense of complex and troubling situations: ways of describing problems move into and out of good currency (as the urban problem, for example, tended to be defined in the 1950's as "congestion"; in the 1960's as "poverty"; and in the 1970's as "fiscal insolvency"). New descriptions of problems tend not to spring from the solution of the problem earlier set, but to evolve independently as new features of situation come into prominence.
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> Schön (1979:261).

For Schön, as for Blume and others, debates over social policy turn not so much on problems as on conflicting frames of reference. Participants in policy debates—and this is exemplified in debates on migration policy—invariably utilise different frames derived from different and conflicting metaphors. Such conflicts are not necessarily resolvable by an appeal to the "facts", for different frames may generate their own domain of relevant "facts" through the use of different data language categories.

Examples of frame conflicts in policy debates are, as Blume perceived, readily available in the literature of housing policy. Schön also analyses the housing policy debate as a study of frame conflict, and uses this analysis to demonstrate the presence of two competing generative metaphors.

Over the past thirty or forty years, according to Schön, from the different accounts which have been formulated of urban housing in the United States, two "stories" in particular stand out as representative of two competing generative metaphors. On the one hand, the problems of urban housing have been defined in the context of a "disease"-metaphor, in which a community, once healthy is seen to have become blighted and diseased. In terms of this metaphor, the solution to the "problem" of urban blight and decay is to be found in the total redesign of the whole area: a radical surgery of urban renewal.

On the other hand, the problems of urban housing have also been defined in the context of a "natural community"-metaphor, in which recognition is given to the high levels of social organisation which often continue to characterise many areas in need of physical maintenance and repair. In terms of this metaphor, the solution to the "problem" of sub-standard housing and poor neighborhood facilities is to be found in the preservation and support of the "natural community".

Each metaphor presents a different picture, and tells a different story. In terms of the "disease"-metaphor, the definition of the "problem" includes the "facts" of "blight", "health", "renewal", "cycle of decay," integrated plan", and so forth. In the second metaphor, the "problem" is defined in terms of such "facts" as "home", "spatial identity", "patterns of interaction", "informal networks" and "dislocation".

Each story places the features it has selected within the frame of a particular context—for example, of "blight" and the removal of "blight"; of "natural communities", their threatened dissolution, and their preservation. And so

Schön also observes, each of these "stories" has enjoyed periods of prominence (should we say, "paradigm status"?) when they guided the writing of legislation, the formation of policy, the design of programmes, the allocation of funds, and the conduct of evaluations. It is, therefore, through their capacity to define and identify "problems" in a field of discourse, that these metaphorical frames of reference enter into the formulation and implementation of social policy.

> Each story constructs its view of social reality through a complementary process of *naming* and *framing*. Things are selected for attention and named in such a way as to fit the frame constructed for the situation. Together, the two processes construct a problem out of the vague and indeterminate reality which John Dewey called the "problematic situation". They carry out the essential problem-setting functions. They select for attention a few salient features and relations from what would otherwise be an overwhelmingly complex reality".
> Schön (1979:264).

These, and other studies of the conceptual content of policy languages have begun to open up the area of policy studies to the methods of discourse analysis. It has become increasingly apparent to many writers that in order to understand exactly how "problems" are defined for social policy, it is necessary to examine these "problems" within the larger context of policy discourses. Policy analysts have thus grown more sensitive to the ways in which the "problems" of social policy may be said to have been "constructed" through the languages of policy discourse. Policy problems have remained dependent for their definition upon a mode of discourse in which such "problems" acquire both a meaning and a sense of urgency.

It is now increasingly apparent, that the construction of "problems" in policy analysis involves a number of epistemic functions, such as the "naming" and "framing" of problematic social situations. The identification of these problematic situations, however, always involves more than their literal description of objective situations, for many of the observation terms included in the data languages of policy discourse may, at the same time, also be understood as theoretical and metaphorical terms. The introduction of the methods of discourse analysis into the area of policy studies has thus contributed to a greater understanding of the ways in which "problems" are defined for social policy. Social policy can no longer simply be regarded, therefore, as a set of social practices, but rather as a set of practices which are embedded within a particular mode of discourse.

The recognition that social policy may well be understood conceptually as a mode of discourse leads naturally to the question of how such discourses should be "read". Is there a methodical way for constructing a "reading" for a particular policy discourse? There is, of course, no simple answer to this question, for different methods of "reading" discourse have been pioneered by writers working within very different academic traditions. Thus the "empirical" methods of content analysis have little in common with the formal semiotics of Roland Barthes (1967), or with the neo structuralism of Althusser (1970). At the same time, however, structuralist methods themselves have generated a critical tradition of post-structuralism, represented in the works of Derrida (1976), Culler (1982) and Kristeva (1982). Among this variety of contending methods, no simple common denominator for a methodical reading of discourse is likely to be found.

Notwithstanding this, however, the problem of method will predictably become increasingly significant in policy studies, for without such method, the "readings" of policy discourses are fated to remain merely idiosyncratic and [illegible]. Some indication of a possible approach to methods of reading is provided in

Schön's account of social policy. In this account Schön shows how policy discourses may be conceptually analysed (or deconstructed) into their underlying, or generative metaphors, for it is these metaphors which structure the field of observation in which the problem-setting takes place. Schön's attempt to construct a "reading" of social policy through an analysis of the metaphorical "deep structure" of this discourse may thus be seen as an attempt to formulate a possible method of discourse analysis. It must be left to other writers, however, not only to build upon these attempts, but also to integrate the semiotic methods of other areas into the field of policy studies.

4. Migration Theory, Policy and Practice

In common with the general tradition of public policy studies, most studies of migration policy have tended to focus on the role of institutional factors in the process of policy development. Policy debates over migration—especially immigration—have invariably been seen as conflicts of interest between competing social groups with different, often opposing interests at stake in the control of migration. By now, the register of those interest groups involving themselves in national debates over migration policy—through their promotion of, or opposition to, "open door" policies, is fairly well known. Richmond (1980:157) has recently identified some of the more prominent groups to have participated in these exchanges. Thus groups which have traditionally supported relatively "open" immigration policies, include,

(1) large land owners, and developers (such as CPR in Canada) for whom a larger population is a prerequisite for economic growth.

(2) capital investors and employers in expanding industries requiring skilled workers in excess of domestic labor supply, as well as employers in declining and marginal industries requiring labor at non-competitively low rates.

(3) transportation companies, and all those associated with the travel industry, who depend for their livelihood on the promotion of large population movements.

Groups, on the other hand, which have traditionally supported tighter immigration controls, include,

(1) both organised and unorganised labor which frequently see immigration as having the potential of undermining labor unions and wage levels.

(2) socially mobile and less secure sectors of the middle classes especially those who have espoused particular moral, religious or nationalistic values which they feel would be threatened by an influx of "aliens".

(3) older generations of immigrants who may feel that further waves of immigrants could upset any previous *modus vivendi* they may have reached with the host society.

Adopting an institutional approach towards the study of public policy has convinced many policy analysts to view migration policy solely as a practical mechanism for accommodating the diverse interests of conflicting social groups.

There is, of course, nothing inherently "wrong" in this approach to the study of public policy, for different interest groups have always observed their own priorities when assessing the costs and benefits of immigration, and these priorities have usually been expressed as eminently practical considerations.

However, it is only when this institutional approach is seen as the *only* possible approach to policy analysis that it becomes an obstacle to the further development of policy studies in this area. For migration policy may be seen as more than just an institutional reflex of special interest group lobbies; it can also be seen as a mode of discourse, in its own right. And while the institutional analysis of migration policy has proven useful in demonstrating how the interests of some special groups may achieve representation in government policy at the expense of others, such an approach by no means exhausts the ways in which migration policy may be analysed. Public policy discourse, therefore, has a life of its own which is not wholly reducible to the battling agendas of competing interest groups. As a mode of policy discourse, migration policy may also be analysed in terms of its own internal structure: the languages in which the policy is formulated; the (often implicit) metaphors used to conceptualise migrants and migration; the conceptual mechanisms used to define "problems" in the field, as well as the changing "paradigms" which have characterised the historical development of migration policies in different parts of the world.

Clearly, any comprehensive treatment of these issues would require a separate dissertation, well beyond the bounds of the present project. The purpose of this discussion, however, is more modest in scope. Basically what we hope to show in this final section is how policies of migration—which include such legal and political artifacts as statutes, regulations, orders-in-council, court decisions and so on, may be understood not simply as social practices, as most institutional policy studies have emphasised, but also as modes of discourse with epistemic structures that are amenable to decoding and deconstruction through the methods of discourse analysis. Given the fact that relatively few studies to date have undertaken any conceptual analysis of migration policy, our coverage of these examples must necessarily be both provisional and brief.

Most comparative and historical accounts of migration have understandably chosen to concentrate on the practical determinants and consequences of policy-making for nation-states. Migration policies have largely been analysed as social practices introduced by nation-states in response to a variety of different social, economic, military, and political contingencies. Thus, in his discussion of migration policies within the evolving world system, Zolberg (1978:243) has defined the concept of "policy" in the following terms,

> ...policy includes not only formal rules and regulations, but also administrative policies concerning them, as well as related incentives and sanctions.

Such an emphasis on the practical and institutional aspects of migration policy, however, has led studies in this area to become as a-theoretical and as fragmented as in other areas of migration research. There has been little attention paid to the conceptual basis of migration policy, and for this reason, national migration policies have usually been examined in virtual isolation from each other, permitting few generalisations of any theoretical interest. This has remained the case even for those attempts which have been made to compare different national policies, as in Kubat (1979), and Hawkins (1974) Peek and Standing (1982). It would thus appear that the development of a theoretical structure for migration policy discourse is a necessary condition for the eventual integration of isolated policy studies into a meaningful comparative framework.

> the specialists who deal with...emigration policies, forced population exchanges, immigration policies and their concomitants such as naturalization law - tend to be a-theoretic. Produced mostly by historians or political scientists interested in

> a segment of social reality within specified time limits and in particular countries, by specialists of international law, and by students of international organisation, the literature on these matters constitutes an array of discrete bits.
> Zolberg (1978:242).

One of the major focuses of conceptual studies of discourse has been that of the changing "paradigms", or epistemic structures, which characterised particular fields of discourse in the course of their development and transformations. In the case of migration policy discourses, there have been very few attempts to analyse contemporary policies in terms of their continuities, or discontinuities, with past policies, and what little has been done in this area has largely neglected conceptual, in favour of institutional criteria. However, Zolberg (1978) has formulated a general periodisation of the migration policies developed by European nation-states over the past four centuries. Although this periodisation is based largely upon institutional criteria, it does provide some indiction of the underlying epistemic structures which generated these criteria. Zolberg thus divides the recent history of international migration into three main periods, which he distinguishes in terms of the different regulative practices which characterised each of these discrete periods. Following Foucault, we may perhaps, reconceptualise these periods as the three main "regimes" of migration to have appeared in Europe over the past four centuries. Each of these regimes represents a distinctive ideological and social context, and it is within these contexts that the discourse and practices of migration policy must be understood. According to Zolberg, therefore, the three main regimes of European migration policy are as follows:

1. The Period of State Building and Mercantilism between the Sixteenth and Eighteenth centuries.

2. The Transition to Liberalism from 1815 to 1880

3. The Period of Protectionism and National Building from 1880 to 1960.

As Zolberg makes clear, each of these periods was characterised by very different government perspectives towards the migration of people into, or away from, the territories of sovereign nation-states. Most mercantilist governments were primarily concerned to increase their national populations, and for this reason imposed stringent controls on the freedom of their subjects to travel out of the country. There were, of course, essential differences of policy between individual nation-states on certain questions, but most governments of the mercantilist era strongly discouraged emigration, and because of the frequent and longstanding rivalry between mercantilist states, immigrants were often held in suspicion of being spies or provocateurs. Nonetheless, as Zolberg indicates, much of the population movement throughout this period was made up of the refugee movements of persecuted religions and racial minorities. Except for these, the legislative provisions governing population movement were almost uniformly proscriptive, and often entailed heavy sanctions—especially against emigration.

It was only within the transition to Liberalism, at the start of the Nineteenth century, that many of the traditional barriers to international population movement were progressively removed. With the advent of the agricultural and industrial revolutions in the "core" nations of the world system, the resultant population shifts paved the way for the great trans-Atlantic mass migrations of the mid-century. Nowhere were these changes exemplified more clearly than in the new doctrines of political economy, whereby the old protectionism of Mercantilism was displaced by the *laissez-faire* notions of classical liberalism. The new discourse provided a new way of looking at the issues of population—including the issue of migration. For a while, at least in the Atlantic economy, the supply and demand for labour seemed to come into equilibrium: with the colonies demanding labor for settlement and colonisation, and the metropoles supplying labor from the surplus populations created by industrialism. The era of Liberalism, therefore, was an era dominated by the ideology of supply and demand, of *laissez-faire* and by the need for the unregulated pursuit of rational self-interest. This was the discourse which justified the massive population transfers of the middle and latter parts of the Nineteenth centuries.

Even before the end of the liberal period, however, many governments had begun to legislate against the unrestricted entry of migrants into their territories—especially those migrants who were classified as destitute, criminal, or insane. At the same time, concerns expressed by established settler groups over the changing ethnic composition of the newer immigrant flows—especially into the U.S. and Canada, provoked these national governments to tighten admission criteria and to impose quotas on nationality groups. These changes signalled the end of the period of Liberalism and the beginning of the new period of Protectionism and Nation Building. This new period was also characterised by a closer selection of immigrants to fit the needs of the labor market. During the early decades of the Twentieth century, the economic need for immigrants had changed from an early need for farmers to a later need for industrial workers. By the middle of the century, this need had again been transformed into more specific needs for highly skilled professional and technical workers. This trend has continued into the present time, and immigration policy in most industrial countries has now become an official adjunct of government manpower policy.

While incomplete as it presently stands, Zolberg's periodisation of migration policy represents an important step beyond the traditional literature in this area. Not only has he attempted to integrate a variety of different national policies within a single interpretative framework, but he has also attempted to lay the foundations for a developmental approach to the study of migration policy. There also exists in this attempt, as we have tried to show, a possible beginning for a more conceptual approach to the study of migration policy, an approach which hints at some of the underlying notions of population and government policy which have given rise to the statutes, regulations and administrative practices of each particular regime. To this extent, therefore, Zolberg's work could be seen as the prefiguration of a more fully developed theory of the discourses of migration policy.

Unlike Zolberg, most writers who have given attention to the conceptual structures underlying migration policies have usually restricted themselves to analysing the policies of particular nation-states. Thus Gordon (1964) in his celebrated account of American policies of migration and assimilation distinguished between three basic policy perspectives:

(1) Anglo-conformity

(2) The melting pot

(3) Cultural pluralism.

While Gordon intended each of these perspectives to be understood as different theories of ethnic and race relations, (theories employed implicitly by governments and special interest groups, and explicitly by social scientists,) they may be equally well understood as different policy discourses, which have simultaneously both informed and legitimated the changing institutional policies of immigration and settlement within the United States.

For the most part, however, there have been relatively few attempts to analyse the changing provisions of migration policy in conceptual terms. Most accounts of the historical evolution of specific policies have normally restricted themselves to a simple chronology of changes in the statutes and regulations without attempting to disclose the larger changes of perspective, of which such legislative changes have been only a part. There is a considerable difference, therefore, between a simple chronology of institutional changes in policy, and the periodisation of those policy discourses, in which such institutional changes are embedded.

In the absence of a more conceptual approach to the study of social policy, it is often difficult to appreciate the ways in which social policy may be seen not simply as a "response" to problems identified in a particular jurisdiction, but as a means of "constructing" these problems. A purely institutional analysis, therefore, provides only a "passive" picture of social policy—as a mechanism for resolving already existing problems. It is is order to draw attention to the "active" role of social policy in the framing of social problems, that we are obliged to pursue a more conceptual line of inquiry.

Some of the conceptual features of migration policy become apparent from the ways in which migrants are formulated as "empirical objects" within a particular policy discourse. According to the criteria of admission and settlement currently legislated into most immigration policies of the industrial world, migrants are formulated primarily as economic objects. With the evident exception of the family-assisted, student, visitor, and refugee classes, most immigrants are assessed in reference to their labor market potential. As an object of policy discourse, therefore, the migrant is formulated first and foremost as a "commodity". It is, above all, the economic characteristics of the migrant which are abstracted from the sum total of human qualities; all other characteristics are, in effect, "bracketed" as irrelevant to the field of discourse. The tendency for contemporary immigration policies to process migrants as commodities has been widely recognised, especially in the case of temporarily recruited migrant workers (c.f. Castles and Kosak 1973; Castells 1975; Nikolinakos 1975). Fewer writers, however, have analysed the *conceptual* processes through which the "immigrant - as - commodity" is formulated as an empirical object of migration policy discourse. These processes of "naming" and "framing", as Schön (1979) has called them, are crucial to any understanding of the ways in which policy discourses structure the relevant field of observation, and thereby generate the categories which define the relevant scope of social practice.

In one of a number of recent studies concerning undocumented Mexican workers in the U.S., Bustamante (1976) has suggested that the concept of "immigrant-as-commodity" is useful for understanding the role of migrant Mexican labor in the U.S. economy. Although designed as a model to explain the institutional conditions under which undocumented Mexican workers continue to find entry into U.S. labor markets, Bustamante uses the concept of "immigrant-as-commodity" to effectively critique the official discourse of U.S. immigration policy.

> In order to classify the issues delineated above, the concept of "migrant as a commodity" is introduced to explain (1) the association between immigration and capital expansion in the historical context of a class structure, and (2) the process of formation of cultural meanings and social policies in the superstructural dimension of capitalist relations of production. Here migration is understood simply as self-transportation of labor-power concerned as a commodity to such places as the owner of capital (i.e. labor power) requires it.
> Bustamante (1976:370)

Although it has been the "guest workers" and undocumented workers who have been most often defined as human commodities in the discourses of different national immigration policies, it has not only been this class of migrants. For while both landed immigrants or permanent residents in the U.S. and Canada have traditionally been assessed according to a wider set of criteria than those applied to guest-workers, (including, for example, age, kinship, linguistic and personal criteria), the predominant definition of even these classes of immigrants has remained economic in essence. One has only to recall that in Canada, immigration policy has been, at various times, regulated through a number of different government departments, including the Department of Agriculture (1880's) the Department of Mines and Resources (1936), the Department of Manpower and Immigration. These shifts tell a story of the continuing definition of the immigrant as a "commodity" in the eyes of Canadian Immigration Policy; it is only that the demand for agricultural and unskilled immigrant commodities has now given way to the demand for highly specialised immigrant commodities. Throughout it all, however, the immigrant remains a commodity.

In Canada, one of the more influential documents related to public policy in the area of migration was the *Canadian Immigration and Population Study* published in 1974 through the Department of Manpower and Immigration. Published in conjunction with a number of accompanying consultative studies, the declared purpose of this *Green Paper* was to contribute to an informed public discussion around the vital role that migration decisions play in shaping Canada's population future, and to stimulate thinking about a particularly complex and important area of public policy.

From the time of its publication, however, a number of different readings of the *Green Paper* study have emerged. Some of these readings have criticised the *Green Paper* for its failure to consider migration issues from the broader perspective of a general population and land-use policy (Marsden, 1975, Bentley 1975), while other readings have reproached the authors of the *Green Paper* study for their denigration of the role of Third World Immigrants (Paul 1975), or for an over-identification with the flexible manpower needs of corporate employers (Cappon 1975). These and other readings reflect not only the apparent textual ambivalence of the *Green Paper* towards some of these issues, but also the sheer variety of theoretical and ideological frameworks which may be brought to bear upon the decoding of a major public policy document of this kind.

For its own part, the *Green Paper* study uses a number of literary and rhetorical devices in the presentation and dramatisation of what it portrays as the key "problems" facing immigration and population policy in Canada. Even a cursory reading of the opening volume of the study, "Immigration Policy Perspectives", is sufficient to identify several basic elements of the documentary organisation of the text, including what O'Neill (1981:113) has described as "the sequential order, logic, categorisations, and contrastive structures" of the textual order.

In setting the scene for a general discussion of Immigration, the *Green Paper* opens with a brief statement on the social and environmental significance of population for present Canadian Policy. The issue of population is first introduced into a Canadian context, and then into the global context of population increase. By linking these two contexts, the *Green Paper* is able to present a dramatic contrast between the global "population problem", and the locally defined "demographic problem". The form of this dramatic contrast derives from the clash of two powerfully juxtaposed images:

Population problem = overpopulation in underdeveloped countries
= social irresponsibility
= beyond immediate control
= requires a change in traditional beliefs and private decision-making.

Demographic problem = urban congestion and regional imbalances in Canada
= focus of public concern
= capable of being controlled
= amenable to public policy and rational planning.

> In one customary sense of the expression, of course, Canada does not face a population problem." As a nation we do not have to reckon with the grim prospect confronting overpopulated countries afflicted by spiralling growth attributable to high birth rates. In another sense, however, Canada, like any country, has a demographic problem. It takes the form of urban congestion, regional imbalances, and trends that entail the de-population of some areas and an undersirable rate of growth in others.
>
> Green Paper, (vol.1:2).

One possible interpretation of linking these two contrasting images in the above sequential order would appear to be as follows:

that whereas Canada has been spared the excesses of the "population problem", unless the "demographic problem" is resolved, Canada may well be facing its own local population problem. In this way, a link is established between the "overpopulation" of the "third world" countries, and the entry of "third world" immigrants into Canada. And while it may not have been the intention of the *Green Paper* to denigrate the role of "third world" Immigrants to Canda, the coupling of these two images in the policy text has assuredly linked them as issues in the popular imagination.

Many other examples may be found within the *Green Paper* of further linkages between several different types of social policy problem. Inasmuch as these linkages are established in a text on immigration policy, the general impression is unavoidably created that immigrants are, in some significant sense, contributary factors in the development of these problems. The following set of linkages occurring within the space of a few pages, illustrate some of the procedures underlying the literary production of a narrative account which, through its use of associations, succeeds in formulating "the immigrant" - who is, after all, the central figure of this text - as the villain of the piece.

> Canada, like most advanced nations, counts the costs of more people in terms of congested metropolitan areas, housing shortages, pressures on arable land, damage to environment—in short, the familiar catalogue of problems with most prosperous and sophisticated societies are currently endeavouring to cope.
> (vol. 1: 5)

> In recent years, consistently more than half the immigrant movement has been drawn to the three centres, Toronto alone receiving roughly 30 per cent. It is undeniable that a more dispersed pattern of immigrant settlement might help to alleviate some of the difficulties that plague these congested and rapidly expanding areas.
> (vol. 1: 9-10).

> Some would emphasize the special dimensions these problems assume when migration from abroad is the chief factor responsible for growth. Others are concerned about the consequences for national identity that might follow any

> significant change in the ethnic composition of the population, citing the unhappy example of countries where the pace at which migration introduced new racial groups into the population outstripped the ability of their societies to adapt to these changes harmoniously, and resulted in serious social difficulties.
> (vol.1: 16).

> In the circumstances it would be astonishing if there was no concern about the capacity of our society to adjust to a pace of population change that entails after all, as regards international migration, novel and distinctive features.
> (vol.1: 12).

The formulation of "problems" in public policy documents is thus greatly dependent upon a number of rhetorical features which underly the documentary organisation of the text, and which provided it with an identifiable literary format. In this sense, the "problems" of public policy texts may be regarded, to some extent, as literary productions; and as with all literary productions, a knowledge of the prospective audience often provides the most reliable indicator of the author's intentions.

The ways in which migration policy discourses have effectively structured the categories through which our perception and understanding of immigrants is mediated, is nowhere more clearly seen than in the formulation of "problems". Like the problems of scientific discourses, the problems of policy discourses are invariably set within the problem-solving contexts provided by the discourse. Problems which transcend the limits of political resolution laid down in current policy, if they are conceived at all as "problems", become equivalent to the "anomolies" of scientific discourse; they force a re-thinking of the conceptual structure and practical limits of the discourse as presently constituted. It is in the process of problem-formulation that the limits of policy discourse become most apparent, especially when the "problems" formulated within the discourse do not exhaust the range of relevant consequences outside of it. The "problems" of policy discourse, therefore, are not always the same thing as the "problems" of migrants, themselves; for discourse has its own rules, and is often able to disregard the other side of the story - at least until the anomolies can no longer be ignored.

One of the more perceptive analyses of the ways in which problems are constructed within the discourse of migration policy occurs in a recent paper by de Voe (1981). In this paper de Voe describes how traditional formulations of the "refugee problem" - which define refugees as "survivors" and "helpless victims" - tend to produce these symptomatic effects in refugee populations. The notion of the "refugee-as-helpless victim" is in many ways an invention, but an invention which is institutionalised through the discourse and practices of migration policy.

> The lasting impression engendered by refugees around the world is that of a victim, a kind of immigrant and, perhaps most importantly, a client in need of assistance.
> de Voe (1981:88).

de Voe's study is a report on the effectiveness of international charity and refugee programs in re-establishing refugee populations with recent histories of traumatic uprootings. The study centres on the experiences of Palestinian, and more particularly, Tibetan refugees within these programs. It is clear from this report that the discourse of resettlement with its asymmetrical categories of "client: professional'" "beneficiary; benefactor"; "recipient:donor"; "victim:relief worker", imposes on refugees an hierarchical definition of their situation and a conceptual dependency, where previously there was none.

> Like other people who are clients, refugees are categorized with an impersonal quality like property. Then, institutions interested in absorbing or rehabilitating refugees impose an organisation of relevant facts, needs and goals in a way that the institutional structures can handle them...
> de Voe (1981:91)

> The professional initially frames the refugee as "client", through an agreed upon set of criteria. This initial prejudicial judgement establishes the need hierarchy which is then matched to the services and expectations offered by the agency. In this sense, experts take custody of the refugees by taking custody of what they, the experts, have identified as the refugee's "problem". Refugees cannot effect their own release from the situation, only others can.
>
> de Voe (1981 :90).

Even more significant, however, is the way in which these refugees adapt to the social relations of dependency, and learn to justify their dependency through the asymmetrical categories of the discourse. By doing this, they learn to accept the authorised definitions of themselves as "problems", and are thereby committed to accepting the authorised "solutions".

> Dependence begins when the refugees try to develop behaviours they perceive as expected of them as clients in order to continue the flow of reward or aid. This form of self-estrangement contributed to the refugees sense of powerlessness...Indeed, the victim gets blamed for having the problem and not collaborating to solve it. So the Tibetans for instance, have learned to ask for sponsorship, to "see" their problem in the same way the helpless define it, and to seek the same solutions.
>
> de Voe (1981:93).

There is a sense in which the discourse of policy-makers not only excludes, but actively represses the discourse of the objects of social policy. These effects are dramatically illustrated in this study of refugees, in which the long term social implications of policy discourse as a mechanism for formulating and solving "problems" of its own making, appear rather sinister.

Another aspect of problem setting in policy discourse, is the way in which some "problems"—influenced as they often are by public opinion—may be based upon a partial or even "mythologised", reading of social relations. Policy discourses can, on occasion, find justification for their recommendations in appeals to classes of "facts", which may not be classified as "facts" in other ("scientific") modes of discourse.

This may be seen in recent attempts by the United States government to legislate and control the flow of undocumented migrant workers into the U.S. from Mexico. The popular view of Mexican migrant workers sees them as a threat to the employment security of American workers, a delinquency problem, and as threat to the cultural standards of the U.S. Mexican workers, it is commonly believed, usually succeed in staying on permanently in the U.S. where they are able to take advantage of the relatively generous welfare benefits. Most important of all, however, is the belief that the "problem" of Mexican undocumented workers is wholly determined by Mexican factors—that is, by "push" factors from within Mexico. (c.f. Bustamente, 1983).

To a large extent, it would appear that most of these assumptions are shared by the policy-makers in Washington, for many of the provisions of new legislative proposals which have gone before the Congress, (e.g. the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, 1982), are designed to "solve" the "problem" of undocumented immigrants, as it has traditionally been formulated. However, it is clear from research conducted in this area that many popular beliefs regarding undocumented aliens are based upon misconceptions. A discrepancy (or frame-conflict) exists between the story told of Mexican workers in popular discourse—and by extension, in (pending) policy discourse—,and that told in academic migration discourse. The interesting thing about this discrepancy between the "popular/official" view, and the "scientific" view of the "problem", is that there appears to be little indication of any closing of this gap. Indeed, as Bustamante suggests, there are compelling political reasons why the "official" view of the "problem" is unlikely to give way to the "scientific" view.

> ... an extremely important part of what we define as the "problem" relating to the migration of Mexicans to the U.S. is, necessarily, the vast discrepancy between scientific findings and public opinion. It is not simply a problem of communication between scientific researchers and the general public. It is something more complicated which in and of itself is worthy of study—what we see here is a process of ideological formulation which corresponds to diverse economic or political interests which, in turn, present the closing of the gap between the description of reality by scientific methods and the perception of the same phenomenon held by public opinion...
>
> Bustamante (1983:325)

Because the official view of the "problem" of undocumented workers is formulated as a problem of "immigrant labor supply", the proposed "solutions" for this "problem" concentrate on halting the entry of illegal labor. Thus, in the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, the Border Patrol and the immigration police would be enlarged; while in President Reagan's 1981 proposal (8-1765#R-4832), the "solution" to the problem would have conferred Presidential authority to close roads and ports, and to effectively seal the border. It is noticeable that, with the exception of the "sanctions against employers" included in the recent Bill, (which, as Bustamante points out, merely proposes to Federalise existing State legislation), there has been no serious attempt to problematise the *demand* for migrant labor in the U.S.. Indeed, it is now conceded by many informed observers, that the proposed Bill to legislate and control the flow of undocumented aliens will probably fail to bring about the results desired by its proponents. Because no attempt has been made to explore the (unstated) problem of the *demand* for illegal aliens within the U.S. through, among other things, bi-lateral negotiations with the Mexican government, the demand for such labor will presumably continue unabated. It is, therefore, a testament to the sensitivity of the U.S. government to the vested interests at stake in maintaining a supply of cheap and docile labor, that the policy discourse has avoided defining this as a "problem". Instead, through tightening up on law enforcement practices and by defining the "problem" of undocumented workers as a "criminal", rather than a "labor-relations" problem, the provisions of the new Bill will likely safeguard the supply of cheap labor, and further guarantee its docility, in the face of heavier and more elaborate legal sanctions.

The "problems" of public policy discourse, therefore, are often derived from the spontaneous observation of "problems" in popular discourses. But, as we have seen, these observations may be generated from mythologised accounts of social relations which may not only be inaccurate, but also systematically distorted. There is little doubt, moreover, that by institutionalising the "problems" of popular discourse into the discourse of public policy, mythologised and ideologised accounts of social relations are easily reinforced in the public mind. Indeed, it could be said that by being legislated into public policy, the unofficial discourses of public opinion acquire a privileged and paradigmatic status as problem-setting and problem-solving contexts.

5. Summary

The general purpose of this study has been to develop a framework for the analysis of social scientific knowledge, which goes beyond the positivism and sociologism of traditional social epistemologies. Unlike many of the classical social epistemologies, which have sought to reduce the study of science to the study of institutions, we have tried to suggest an alternative framework in which the conceptual analysis of social scientific knowledge may be seen as a legitimate project in its own right. This we have done through a theory of discourse.

The development of this study, therefore, has been organised around a number of basic themes suggested by Foucault's archeological method of discourse analysis. Starting with an overview of the field, we have tried to show how its conceptual organisation may be related to the social organisation of the practices which underly it. It is suggested that the highly empirical and a-theoretical character of demographic discourse, which of all sociological specialities most closely approximates the ideals of the (descriptive) natural sciences, may best be understood as a discourse of bureaucratic institutions. For it is primarily in the public bureaucracies that the collection of, and demand for, demographic information has been organised, and in this sense these institutions constitute for demographic discourse what Foucault has termed 'the surfaces of emergence'.

Following from this overview of the field of migration discourse, we have analysed what Foucault has termed 'the field of memory', in an effort to trace the genealogy of migration discourse. Extracting fragments of population discourse from the texts of Ancient and Mercantilist writings, it is argued that the emergence of the discourse of demography in the late Seventeenth Century represented an 'epistemic break' with the earlier discourses of population. It was this break that provided the discourse of demography with a specialised language of observation, and with a series of theoretical objects, of which the topic of migration was one.

Migration discourse is then discussed in terms of what Foucault has called 'the grids of specification'. Definitions of migration proposed within the research literature are analysed as attempts to delimit the conceptual boundaries of the field. Similarly, a range of classification schema are analysed, and several different typologies are identified.

Besides the logical boundaries established through definition and classification, the discourse of migration may also be defined in terms of the theoretical objects of its field. Until the recent advent of systematic theoretical formulations, however, the theoretical objects of migration discourse remained embedded and unarticulated in the languages of observation and research. The latent theoreticity of migration discourse may be disclosed, in part, through an analysis of what Foucault has termed 'the field of concomitance'. It can thus be shown that many of the basic concepts of the field function not as literal terms of observation and description, as traditionally perceived, but as analogical concepts drawn from other fields of discourse. Several basic metaphors of migration discourse are identified through this method of latent discourse analysis, and their relevance to the languages of theory and observation is further discussed.

Our study of migration discourse concludes with an account of the relationship of migration research to migration policy. It is suggested that the texts of migration policy—as with other fields of public policy—may be constructed and deconstructed as a mode of migration discourse which may also be analysed in terms of its manifest and latent conceptual structures. The latent structure of migration policy discourse is then analysed in relation to the formulation of 'problems' in immigration policy.

In an important sense, the present study concludes at the point where the application of discourse analysis to the study of institutions properly begins. It is not so much in conceptual analyses, as in semiotic analyses of institutions, that the methods of discourse analysis are more generally employed. For institutions, much like other classes of knowledge, may be analysed as representational systems, with semantic messages which are capable of being decoded and deconstructed into ideologies, theories, conceptual frameworks, generative metaphors, and other elements of a discursive formation.

6. The Sociological Significance and Limitations of the Study

The significance of the present analysis of academic migration discourse is best defined within the context of the developing tradition of internalist studies in the sociology of science. Over the past decade, there appears to have been a veritable *renaissance* in sociological studies of science. Unlike earlier studies in this field, however, which focussed primarily on the social organisation of scientific communities, the tendency of recent studies have been to focus on issues more directly related to the cognitive structure of scientific knowledge. Indeed, evidence of the ascendancy of this "strong programme" (Bloor, 1976) in the sociology of (scientific) knowledge may be found in a number of different research traditions which vary from conceptual studies in the history and philosophy of (natural) science fields; to ethnographic accounts of the everyday practices of laboratory science; to textual analyses of the documentary practices of literary (written) science. There can be little doubt, therefore, that the topic of scientific knowledge now represents a significant research frontier in social science studies, and much of the current interest in the deconstruction, or demystification, of scientific knowledge may perhaps be understood as a backlash against the formerly privileged status that such knowledge enjoyed in the earlier Mannheimian and Mertonian traditions of the sociology of knowledge and sociology of science.

The present study is intended as a contribution to the developing literature surrounding the literary and rhetorical analysis of science texts. Since the publication of Bloor's programmatic study of *Knowledge and Social Imagery* (Bloor, 1976), a number of other studies dealing with the literary and rhetorical analyses of science texts have appeared, including those of Brown, (1977), Gusfield, (1981), O'Neill (1981), to name but a few.

While stemming from the internalist tradition of the sociology of scientific knowledge, the present study has also tried to incorporate insights derived from a reading of post-structuralist writings in cultural and literary criticism, most notable those of Michel Foucault. Foucoult's archeological method of discurse analysis is discussed extensively in the opening chapters of this study, where it is assessed in terms of its potential relevance as a framework for analysing the structure and history of the academic tradition of migration research.

The contrast to many recent internalist studies of science, which have tended, for the most part, to concentrate on examples taken from the natural sciences, the present study of migration discourse pursues similar questions pertaining to the structure of scientific knowledge in the context of a specialised field of social science. One of the consequences of studying a social rather than a natural scientific field of discourse, moreover, may be seen in the greater relevance that social scientific knowledge has for the formulation of social policy. While there is little evidence from any country, at present, of the extent to which the established conclusions of migration research are typically legislated into the statutes and regulations of migration policy, it is still easier to trace a relationship between scientific knowledge and public policy in the case of a social, than in the case of a natural science.

In the present study this relationship is explored through the framework of a discourse analysis, in which not only academic research texts, but also public policy texts are treated as literary productions. It is as literary production, therefore, that these texts may be deconstructed into their generative metaphorical figures and other rhetorical formats, as well as into their conceptual frameworks and underlying theoretical assumptions. For it is as literary productions that the texts of social science contribute to the ideological formation of public opinion, by providing an articulated structure to the field of spontaneous observation, and by entering into the spoken and written texts of ordinary language discourse.

The present study of migration discourse provides an example of how some of the issues related to the analysis of social science research texts may be explored within the broader traditions of cultural and literary criticism. It is for this reason that the work of Michel Foucault has played a prominent part in this thesis, in order to prevent the study of migration discourse, from dissolving into such micro-orientations as those currently represented in the ethnographic study of laboratory practices, or in the purely formalist approaches of textual analysis. Instead, we have attempted a broader study of migration discourse in which the field of discourse if conceived, not simply as a collection of academic texts, but as an historical object, and as an instrument of social policy and political practice.

While the main purpose of this study has been to prevent an argument for the employment of a discourse analytic perspective in the sociological study of scientific knowledge, there are several remaining pertinent issues which have failed to receive the attention and elaboration that they rightfully deserve. Taken together, the combination of these unexplored and inadequately explored issues may be seen to constitute some of the basic limitations of this study.

Perhaps one of the more striking omissions from this study of migration discourse, is the absence of any reference to the ways in which the present model of discourse may relate to a more broadly conceived theory of ideology. Indeed, in view of the critiques which have been made of the traditions of historical materialism, critical theory and of the sociology of knowledge, it is perhaps incumbent on this study to propose some alternative formulation of a model and/or theory of ideology. That this has not been done, only reaffirms the ambivalance of the present study toward established theories of ideology, and also exposes an important missing link in the relationship of discourse to the practices through which it is articulated. The relationship of discourse to ideology, therefore, remains in serious need of clarification, and provides the most obvious point of departure for the further development of issues arising from this study.

More generally, perhaps, this study suffers from the faults of any project which, in attempting to provide a comprehensive review of the subject, fails to work out many of the finer ramifications of the project in sufficient detail. Thus while some account is provided of the historical development of population discourse, this account serves to underline the need for a more elaborate historical case-study in which the use of primary textual analysis would play an important role.

These, then, are some of the more obvious limitations of this project; limitations which it is hoped may help to define the priorities of future research arising from these and other unresolved issues of this study.

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